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ABSTRACT

Proceedings from a conference to explore issues in moving toward a new institution for national youth service are presented in this booklet. Chapter 1 presents a historical overview of youth participation in the United States, focusing on trends in the labor market, schooling, incarceration, and social problems. The assertion is made that due to population and technological influences on labor supply and demand, schools no longer effectively socialize or control youth. Therefore, the development of alternative institutions, such as a diverse and voluntary national youth service, must be considered. Chapter 2 defines a national youth service as the manifestation of mutual responsibility between the nation and its young people and describes new roles and responsibilities for formal education, citizenship, the public and private sectors, and volunteerism. Responses to the papers presented in the first two chapters are offered in the third chapter, which reviews changes in youth service since 1988, establishes essential aspects of national youth service, and discusses ways to increase public involvement. A unanimous conclusion is that youth service is needed as a democratic, nationwide institution. References accompany each chapter. Appendices include a list of conference participants and a bibliographical essay. (LMI)

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NATIONAL YOUTH SERVICE

A Democratic Institution for the 21st Century

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A Democratic Institution for the 21st Century

Donald J. Eberly, Editor

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INTRODUCTION

This is a publication of the National Service Secretariat, a nonprofit organization founded in 1966 to foster the serious consideration of national service and to be a clearinghouse of information on national service. Thus, the theme of moving toward an institution called national youth service is consistent with the continuing mission of the Secretariat.

The decision to take the initiative was made at the 1990 Annual Meeting of the Trustees. We were distressed with the way politicians and others were cutting the concept of national service into bits and pieces. We had seen it happen before: in the latter half of the 1960s when national service was viewed primarily as a way to make the military draft more equitable; in the latter part of the 1970s, when national service was seen largely as a way to ease the problem of youth unemployment; and in the 1980s, when national service was viewed by some largely as a citizenship responsibility and by others largely as a form of experiential education.

While national service is indeed related to each of these topics, its potential may be weakened when viewed along any single dimension.

The trustees viewed national service more broadly — as a new institution — and we readily found a number of other persons from varied fields but with a common interest in youth policy who were keen to pursue the idea. We were also fortunate to find financial support for a conference and publication.

The conference was held at the Wingspread Conference Center in Wisconsin from July 19-21, 1991. The papers that appear as Chapters 1 and 2 in this booklet were sent in advance to conferees and formed the framework for most of the discussion at Wingspread.

The Wingspread Conference was a working meeting. It alternated between plenary sessions and small work groups. It was an invitational conference. Conferees were selected who had a common interest in youth policy but who came from different backgrounds and approached youth service in very different ways. The chair was occupied successively by Donald J. Eberly, Earl W. Eames, Jr., and Charles C. Moskos. The closing talk was given by Cesie Delve Scheuermann. With seven of the 30 Conference participants in the 16-24 age range, young people were well represented at a conference vitally concerned with their future.

This booklet can usefully be read in tandem with *National Service: An Action Agenda for the 1990s*, published by the National Service Secretariat in 1988, which sets forth ideas and objectives for this decade of transition.

The goal now is to offer the historical review of changing institutions, the model for youth service as a 21st Century institution, and the options and con-

clusions emanating from the Conference to as wide an audience as possible. It is hoped that this booklet will help young people consider their responsibilities to the nation, the future and themselves; and will assist voters and policy makers in considering what else they should be doing to meet their responsibilities to young people and to the 21st Century.

Thanks are due to the Johnson Foundation for hosting the conference and in particular to Ellen Porter Honnet of the Foundation for her guidance during the planning stage and the Conference itself; to the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation and the Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Company for financial support; and to the Conference participants for their constructive comments on the advance papers and thoughtful recommendations.

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1.
YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN AMERICA
A HISTORICAL VIEW OF CHANGING INSTITUTIONS

By Michael Sherraden

As we approach the end of the twentieth century, there is a widespread perception in America that changes of historic proportion are underway. Some of these changes, such as the apparent end of the Cold War, are extremely positive and hopeful. But other changes are not so positive. We are perplexed and concerned about the rise in single parent families; the persistence of poverty, particularly in families with young children; public schools that do not educate; racial and ethnic intolerance; a health care system that is both unjust and unaffordable; and central cities mired in unemployment, drug use, and violence. Many of these social problems appear to be related to a general economic decline of the United States, stemming from high consumption, low savings, and weak capital investment; and resulting in low productivity growth, shrinking profits, closing plants, and weak demand for labor, particularly in the manufacturing sector.

The situation of young people in America is deeply intertwined with the social and economic changes that are underway. During all periods of major transformation, all upswings and downswings in the economy and society, young people are in the forefront as both beneficiaries and casualties. The shifting social and economic landscape offers new opportunities and presents new obstacles for teenagers and young adults. Major social institutions rise and fall in prominence and accessibility, and the rise and fall of these institutions define what young people can and cannot do in the society. Indeed, to a large extent, the set of institutional opportunities in a particular era defines the concept of "youth" itself, and defines the pathways leading to independent adulthood. In long-term historical perspective, we can see these shifting institutions more clearly, and this perspective may enable us better to understand youth participation in our own time.

Therefore, the major questions addressed by this essay are: How has youth participation in American society changed over time? In light of this changing pattern, what social policy directions should the United States pursue in the years ahead?

In order to address these questions, two fundamental social institutions

are examined, the labor market and schooling, along with a lesser institutional form, incarceration. The labor market and schooling have been the primary institutions through which young people have traversed from childhood to adulthood. And incarceration has played a minor but meaningful secondary role.

As an aside, it should be noted that the military has also play a meaningful secondary role in youth participation in America, but it is not included in the current discussion because military participation is controlled primarily by wars, international tensions, and other foreign policy factors. As an institution, the military is not significantly constrained or shaped by domestic issues or concerns. For example, between 1932 and 1934, at the depth of the Great Depression, when the unemployment rate was about 25 percent, all branches of the military combined had less than 250,000 full-time active duty members; but in 1945, at the close of World War II, there were over 12 million full-time active duty military personnel. In short, the military, although playing a significant role in youth participation, is not a creature of domestic policy — nor would anyone want it to be. The military has an almost random association with other institutions of youth participation, and in this regard is distinctively different. For this reason, it is omitted from central consideration in this essay.

Today, there are approximately 26 million 18-to-24-year-olds. At any one time, and not mutually exclusively, about 16 million are employed; nine million are enrolled in schools; two million are unemployed and looking for work; one million are incarcerated in various types of institutions; and one million are in full-time military service (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990; U.S. Department of Education, 1991; and other sources). This is the rough pattern, but youth participation has not been the same at all times. The pattern of participation has changed constantly and continues to change today. In the sections below, data from different historical periods illustrate key transitions and major themes. At times, this may seem a blizzard of statistics, but we will take time at the end to consider what meaning might be indicated by the numbers.

THE LABOR MARKET

The Long-Term Trend. In colonial times and the early years of the republic, nearly all young people worked. Even children under ten years of age were often employed full-time in agriculture or other home-based enterprises. With the arrival of the Industrial Revolution in America, this pattern began to change. Young people's participation in the labor market began to decline in the latter half of the

nineteenth century. By 1900, only 43 percent of male 14-15-year-olds were still working, a figure that declined to 23 percent by 1920, and 12 percent by 1930 (Osterman, 1980, citing reports of the Census Bureau). Today, of course, it is quite rare for 14-15 year olds to be working in most occupations and child labor laws regulate this "abuse" of "children" (the definitions of "abuse" and "children" have changed markedly over time).

Thus, the long-term trend is for young people to be edged out of the U.S. labor market. This has been one of the most constant features of the labor market for more than a century. The advent of the "service economy" or the "post-industrial economy" has not altered this historic pattern. Demand for youth labor is declining not only in manufacturing industries, but in nearly every service industry except retail trade, where youth employment growth is predominantly in fast food establishments (Waldinger and Bailey, 1985). Looking at the past three decades, deterioration of young people's position in the labor market has, if anything, accelerated.

More Recently. "Teenage Shortage: Low-Wage Jobs Go Begging," declares a headline. A number of analyses and articles during the 1980s and early 1990s have suggested a growing shortage of youth labor (e.g., Stroud, 1986; Brannigan, 1986). This supposed shortage has resulted from a declining youth population, and has been predicted by labor economists for a number of years (e.g., Freeman, 1979). These analyses lead us to believe that, except in isolated cases and perhaps for some disadvantaged minorities, youth unemployment is no longer a problem — and it will be even less of a problem in the years ahead. In fact, we are sometimes told that there is today a new and opposite problem, a shortage of youth labor. Following so many years of high youth unemployment, this new problem would be almost welcome.

Unfortunately, the point is overstated and the story is misleading. The "shortage of youth labor" story is like a vessel crudely pieced together from selective shards of the economy — it has the shape of a bowl, but it does not hold water. Although it seems quite plausible that a decline in the youth population would lead to a shortage of youth labor, this conclusion, when more carefully examined, is based on unfounded assumptions and anecdotal accounts. In a few geographical locations where the economy is booming there may be signs of a shortage of youth labor, but this is not the overall pattern.

For example, let us take the period 1979 to 1985 (1979 and 1985 are comparable years in terms of business cycles — each was several years into a recovery; thus the difference in unemployment rates cannot be attributed to cyclical

variation.) The 16-to-24-year-old population indeed declined from a peak of 38.1 million in 1979 to 36.1 million in 1985. But did this result in a shortage of young workers? Unfortunately, it did not. In 1979 the unemployment rate for 16-to-24-year-olds was 11.7 percent, while in 1985 it was 13.6 percent. In other words, youth unemployment actually *increased* during the period when the youth population decreased. Why did this occur?

The reason is that, despite the great visibility of teenagers working at McDonald's, young people are not getting many of the new jobs in the labor market. This important trend was tracked by the Roosevelt Centennial Youth Project, which reported that, from the bottom of the recession in 1982 to 1985, 16-to-19-year-olds, who represented approximately 19 percent of the unemployed, had received only about 1 percent of all new jobs. While the teenage population declined by 12.9 percent between 1979 and 1985, the number of employed teens fell by a larger figure, 20.4 percent (Roosevelt Centennial Youth Project, 1986). In other words, employment opportunities for teenagers declined faster than the teenage population.

Historically, young people have become gradually more marginal in the economy and demographic changes in the youth population have not reversed this trend. The 1980s improvement in the youth unemployment rate was due entirely to the lengthy economic recovery and not a historic turnaround in the youth labor market. To document, the improvement in unemployment for youths was no better than for adults. For example, between the recession year 1982 and the recovery year of 1985, the unemployment rate for 16-to-24-year olds declined from 17.8 percent to 13.6 percent, an improvement of 24 percent. During the same period, the unemployment rate for the 25-and-over population declined from 7.4 percent to 5.6 percent, also an improvement of 24 percent.

Looking at June 1990, the month immediately prior to the beginning of the 1990-91 recession, youth and young adult unemployment rates were unprecedentedly high for this point in the business cycle. After eight years of economic expansion, seasonally-adjusted unemployment rates for 16-to-24-year-olds remained at 10.3 percent. Never in the history of the country has the unemployment rate for 16-to-24-year olds been so high after such a lengthy economic expansion. The same can be said for the 14.1 percent unemployment rate for 16-to-19-year-olds and the 31.4 percent unemployment rate for black 16-to-19-year olds.

In short, the most that can be said regarding demographic trends is that, without the decline in youth population, a very severe youth unemployment problem would be even worse. With the 1990-91 recession, youth unemployment began to rise once again. As of April 1991, the unemployment rate for 16-to-19-

year-olds stood at 18.1 percent, and the comparable figure for black teens was a bewildering 37.1 percent.

Another way to look at youth labor market trends is through wage rates. Headlines during the 1980s suggested that teenagers were no longer willing to accept low paying jobs. If there was such a shortage of youth labor, and such high demand, we would expect wage rates of youths to have risen faster than wage rates of adults. In fact, just the opposite occurred. Between 1978 and 1985, the increase in nominal (not adjusted for inflation) median wage for 16-to-19-year-olds was from $2.86 per hour to $3.73 per hour, or 30.4 percent. For 20-to-24-year-olds, the increase was from $3.99 to $5.36, or 34.3 percent. But for workers 25-and-over, the increase was from $5.50 to $8.43, or 53.3 percent. Thus, during the years when the youth population was declining, youth wage rates were also declining relative to those of adults.

When adjusted for inflation, the average wages for all workers actually declined between 1978 and 1985, indicating a general oversupply of labor, and wages for young people declined even more, indicating a still greater oversupply of youth labor. To be specific, real wages for 16-to-19-year-olds, in 1978 dollars, fell from $2.86 per hour in 1978 to $2.26 per hour in 1985, a drop of 21.0 percent, suggesting an oversupply of youth labor relative to demand.

The fact that the minimum wage in 1985 was $3.35 per hour and the median teenage wage was only $3.73 per hour, also strongly suggests that many young people were not reluctant to work at minimum wage. Indeed, a majority of teenagers in 1985 earned within fifty cents of the minimum wage. Therefore, the suggestion that "low-wage jobs go begging" is a distortion of the facts. If a few young people choose not to accept minimum wage jobs, they are exceptions to the dominant pattern.

In sum, both unemployment and wage data suggest not a growing shortage of youth labor, but a growing surplus of youth labor. Although the supply of youth labor has declined in recent years, evidence strongly suggests that demand for youth labor has declined even faster. Moreover, at this writing in 1991, we are approximately at the nadir of the decline in the youth population. During the remainder of the decade and into the twenty-first century, the youth population will be expanding.

The future is extremely difficult to predict, but there is nothing on the horizon which appears likely to alter the decline in demand for youth labor in the U.S. economy. Demographic fluctuations from decade to decade do not necessarily alter the broad sweep of economic history. The recent decline in the youth

population did not automatically solve the youth unemployment problem. As long as the decline in demand for youth labor has outpaced the decline in supply, youth unemployment has continued to increase. In the years ahead, the youth population will be growing once again, and quite likely this will further exacerbate youth unemployment problems.

SCHOOLING

Over the long-term percentages of high school enrollment and completion in the United States have improved substantially. In 1900, only 11 percent of 14-to-17-year-olds were enrolled in high school. However, high school enrollment for this age group increased to 33 percent in 1920, 50 percent in 1930, 75 percent in 1940, and a remarkable 94 percent in 1978. The overall high school graduation rate reached 75 percent around 1965 and has stayed at approximately this level through the 1980s. In 1988, 76 percent of the U.S. population 25 years of age and older had graduated from high school (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990). No other nation has such a high proportion of high school graduates.

Thus, the U.S. educational system has done a remarkable job in enrolling and providing literacy, basic skills, and advanced training to ever increasing portions of the population. The educational system has provided continuity to a diverse people through periods of rapid social and economic change, and has pulled the train of equal opportunity for immigrants, minorities, and women. The educational system has trained a productive labor force, and has been the primary source of civic consciousness in the United States, a foundation of the democratic political structures which have served the nation and its people so effectively (Janowitz, 1983). These are not small accomplishments. For balance, it is useful to keep these accomplishments in mind as educational problems — especially dropouts — are examined more closely.

Although the long-range statistical trend is toward fewer and fewer dropouts, the short-range trend is not so encouraging. Roughly 25 percent of potential graduates have left school without graduating and evidence indicates that the historic trend toward fewer dropouts has leveled off. Among all 16-to-24-year-olds, the rate of dropouts was 13.9 percent in 1975, and with some ups and downs, stood at 12.6 percent in 1989 (nearly all of this slight improvement was due to a decrease in the dropout rate among blacks; the rate for whites was almost level and the rate for Hispanics was erratic but not improved over the period). Alarmingly, the dropout rate was on a rising trend between 1986 and 1989 for all races (U.S.

Department of Education, 1991).

Dropping out is not evenly distributed racially, economically, or geographically. Among 20-to-24-year-olds, the dropout proportion for Hispanics is 40.8 percent; for blacks, 23.2 percent; and for whites, 14.6 percent (National Center for Educational Statistics, 1986). However, despite the lower dropout rate for the white population, a more careful analysis suggests that this pattern is not explained primarily by race, but rather by income. One study reported that, among those families with incomes under $10,000 in 1977, the percentage of whites 14-to-17-years-old who were not enrolled in school was nearly twice as high as for blacks (Carnegie Council, 1982, p. 51); possibly this was related to high levels of rural poverty among whites. Moreover, in terms of total number, there are far more dropouts who are white than dropouts who are nonwhite.

In general, urban public schools have higher dropout rates than other schools. Although the national average dropout rate is about 25 percent, the rate is as high as 50 percent in some cities. At least 700,000 young people leave school each year, and the total is well over a million when those who attend only rarely are counted (Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation, 1983).

Regarding the latter point, dropping out is only one aspect of a broader problem: the inefficacy of schooling for a large portion of the youth population. Many students who continue to be registered in school are chronic truants. A study of the New York City public schools found a daily absence rate of 20 percent, half of which represented chronic truants (Carnegie Council, 1982, pp. 52-53). Given this truancy pattern, it is not surprising that some of the young people enrolled in school remain functionally illiterate. Thirteen percent of all 17-year-olds have been classified as functionally illiterate, a figure which rises to 44 percent among blacks and 56 percent among Hispanics ((Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation, 1983). In recent decades, increased school violence, widespread student apathy, and declining test scores are additional indicators of a loss of vitality in our educational system. Over the long-term, the United States has done exceptionally well in extending the quantity of education to a large portion of the population, but the quality of many of our schools is now in serious question. The general recognition of this problem led to a spate of alarmed reports on the U.S. educational system during the 1980s. Into the 1990s there continues to be widespread concern about the efficacy of schooling at the primary and secondary levels.

INCARCERATION

As the above data suggest, over the long term, the youth labor market has declined and schooling has arisen to take its place as the dominant form of youth participation. However, accompanying this shift has been the rise of a somewhat less positive form of youth "participation" — incarceration. Let us briefly review the historic rise in various forms of incarceration and how young people have been affected by this trend (data in this section are from research in progress; estimates are based on reports from the U.S. Bureau of the Census and other sources).

Colonization to 1820. Prior to 1820, incarceration played only a minor role in the social welfare and criminal justice systems of the colonies and, later, the new republic. By 1790, an estimated 1,700 (0.90 per thousand) under-21-year-olds were incarcerated at any one time in the United States, about 1,200 of these in almshouses and 500 in adult prisons. Only a very few young people were in mental hospitals and none were in institutions for mental retardation or blindness and deafness, which did not exist at the time.

By 1820, due to the beginning of orphanage care, an estimated 4,500 under-21-year-olds were incarcerated as dependent children; about 1,200 as delinquents; about 200 in newly created institutions for blindness and deafness; and about 100 were in mental hospitals; for an overall total of approximately 6,000 (1.26 per thousand). For the most part, during this era, institutions for incarceration were confined to the larger northeastern cities. In most of the country, dependent or difficult children were not placed behind locked doors, but rather were put to work through the indenture system. Their labor was needed, and in general children were not singled out for special treatment, institutional or otherwise.

1820 to 1900. It is difficult to pinpoint the beginning of the Great Age of Incarceration in the United States, but it can be placed roughly at 1820. Around this time, the building of institutions of several types became more popular. Also, the building of specialized institutions for children and youths, especially child orphanages and facilities for juvenile delinquents, increased. In large part, the institutions of this era were built in an atmosphere of fervent hope and moral certainty about reforming wayward or dysfunctional behavior.

By 1850, about 30,800 (2.45 per thousand) under-21-year-olds were incarcerated in the United States. Of this total, an estimated 24,700 were in orphanages or almshouses; 3,500 were in prisons or juvenile correction facilities; about 2,200 were in institutions for blindness and deafness; and some 400 were in mental hospitals. By 1850, the inherently custodial nature of institutionalization

had raised its ugly head and reformist optimism had largely subsided.

Nevertheless, the building of all types of facilities for incarceration of young people continued. By 1880, there were an estimated 101,400 (4.03 per thousand) under-21-year-olds institutionalized. Of this number, 71,400 were in institutions for dependent children, mostly orphanages (although they were not all orphans, see Downs and Sherraden, 1983); 20,400 were incarcerated as delinquents; 6,400 were housed in institutions for the blind and deaf; 2,000 were in the newly-emerging institutions for the mentally retarded; and 1,200 were in institutions for mental illness.

1900 to 1970. During the first or second decade of the twentieth century, incarceration of children and youth reached its highest rate, due primarily to widespread use of orphanages and other institutions for dependent children. In 1910, there were a total of 206,600 (5.10 per thousand) incarcerated under-21-year-olds. More than half, 126,600 were incarcerated as dependent children; about 45,000 were incarcerated as delinquents; 13,500 were incarcerated for mental illness (a designation becoming more often applied to young people); about 11,000 were in institutions for the blind and deaf; and 10,500 were incarcerated as mentally retarded.

By 1950, the total number of young people in institutions had increased to 247,000, but the rate had decreased to 4.61 per thousand. Most notably, incarceration of dependent children had declined to 99,400, due to a rise in foster care and means-tested public assistance for single mothers (today known as Aid to Families with Dependent Children). This was perhaps the single most important shift in public policy regarding children and youth in the history of the nation. Unfortunately, however, by 1950 the number of incarcerated juvenile delinquents had grown to 68,200; the number of institutionalized mentally retarded young people has soared to 50,100; some 14,800 were housed in institutions for the mentally ill; and about 14,500 were in blind and deaf institutions.

By 1970, the number of incarcerated under-21-year-olds was up to 316,700, but the rate had continued to decline to 3.95 per thousand, due to the continuing decline of institutionalization of dependent children. In 1970, there were 125,300 incarcerated juvenile delinquents; 88,000 incarcerated mentally retarded; only 49,100 incarcerated dependent children and youths; 39,900 institutionalized mentally ill young people; and a declining 14,400 in institutions for the blind and deaf.

The Overall Picture. While the whole number of incarcerated children and youth continued to grow from colonization to 1970, the rate began to decline

around 1910, due almost entirely to the public policy decision, led by social workers, to place more dependent children in foster care and support them with public assistance in single-female-headed families. Incarceration for juvenile delinquency began to accelerate after 1850 and continued to rise through 1970. Incarceration for mental illness and mental retardation were slow in starting but grew rapidly between 1950 and 1970. Finally, institutionalization for deafness and blindness (and other disabilities as well), rose in the nineteenth century; stayed at approximately the same level until 1950 or 1960; and then declined markedly by 1970.

It was not until after 1850, when the Industrial Revolution has taken hold in America, that institutionalization of young people surged. Moreover, if institutions for dependency are excluded, incarceration of teenagers and young adults continued to increase through 1970 and is quite likely continuing to increase today.

There were a number "deinstitutionalization" efforts for juvenile delinquents in the 1960s and 1970s (due primarily to soaring costs of incarceration), and this movement may have slightly reduced the population of juvenile correction facilities for a time. However, there is evidence that growth picked up again in the 1980s. In 1983, there were 82,300 juveniles in public and private correctional facilities, but this number had grown to 94,300 by 1987 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990, Table 322; these figures are not comparable to the above-cited data because they do not include under-21-year olds in adult prisons). Today, "correctional" facilities for juveniles as well as adult prisons are overcrowded in every state. In adult prisons, the vast majority of inmates are young men. In total, the United States now has more than a million people incarcerated in jails, prisons, and other correctional facilities, which is by far the highest imprisonment rate of any economically advanced western nation.

The deinstitutionalization movement in mental hospitals has resulted in a change in type of institutional care, but not a decrease in the population of incarcerated young people. Indeed, a growth industry in "emotional problems" of all kinds has resulted in more young people being categorized and incarcerated in facilities for these problems, including urban group homes, rural "ranches" for adolescents, drug rehabilitation facilities, and other residential treatment institutions. To a significant extent, young people who are today having problems and not fulfilling society's behavioral expectations, are defined in terms of their mental health instead of their criminality -- this is especially true of young people from middle- and upper-class families. They may be incarcerated in a different type of institution, but they are nonetheless incarcerated.

YOUTH "PROBLEMS"

Because of the monumental personal and social consequences, the declining youth labor market, the persistence of school dropout rates, and the widespread use of incarceration are serious problems, and they are vexing. Solutions seem remote. Indeed, for example, the calls for greater "rigor" in many of the reports on schooling in America would possibly lead to even greater numbers of dropouts (Albrecht, 1984; Levin, 1985). In circumstances such as these, it is sometimes helpful to apply the old saw which suggests, "If you cannot find a solution, enlarge the problem." In recent decades, there have been other disturbing trends among the youth population and these trends are perhaps best viewed together. There is not space in this short essay to detail each of these trends, but the main points can be summarized.

Crime. In recent years, overall crime statistics have shown some improvement, but a thoughtful person will find little reassurance in these statistics. It is widely accepted that there is currently less crime because there are fewer young people. In other words, on the average, young people are not committing less crime, there are just fewer of them. Looking at crime rates, in 1950, 12.9 per thousand 18-to-24-year-olds were arrested, but this figure grew steadily to 41.5 per thousand in 1960, 74.4 per thousand in 1970, and 113.8 per thousand in 1980. Fortunately, rate leveled off during the 1980s and stood at 117.0 per thousand in 1988 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990; U.S. Department of Education, 1991). In 1960, 18-to-24-year-olds accounted for only 18 percent of all arrests; by 1980, this age group accounted for 34 percent of all arrests (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1981). In 1989, under-25-year-olds accounted for a remarkable 56 percent of all arrests, including 46 percent of all arrests for violent crime and 59 percent of all arrests for property crime (U.S. Department of Justice, 1990).

Perhaps more ominously, arrests of 14-to-17-year-olds has grown even more rapidly. In 1950, the rate was 4.1 per thousand, but exploded to 47.0 per thousand by 1960, 104.3 per thousand in 1970, and 125.5 per thousand in 1980. As with older youths, the rate leveled off during the 1980s and stood at 117.0 per thousand in 1988 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990; U.S. Department of Education, 1991).

Today, violent and property crime by teenagers and young adults is a serious problem in most central cities. The senseless nature of much of this crime — such as random drive-by shootings and murders over jackets or tennis shoes — indicates a segment of the youth population almost totally disengaged from

mainstream norms and expectations.

Drug and Alcohol Abuse. Drug abuse among U.S. young people may now be declining somewhat. However, to put recent statistics in perspective, it should be recalled that the use of drugs, previously associated with urban minorities, became common among the white middle class during the 1960s and 1970s (Scarpitti and Datesman, 1980). Total arrests for drug abuse violations among under-18-year-olds increased 60-fold between 1960 and 1980 (U.S. Department of Justice, 1980, Tables 24 and 33). It has been suggested by a major national study that, "American young people use more drugs than the young people of any other industrialized nation. During the 1970s, drug use among high school students increased steadily. By 1980, nearly two-thirds of American high school seniors reported that they had used an illicit drug at some time" (Institute for Social Research, 1981, p. 10). Fortunately, data from the 1980s, particularly since 1985, indicate a general decline in the use of most drugs in recent years (Johnston et al., 1989; U.S. Department of Education, 1991, citing various reports). By historic standards, however, rates of drug use are still very high.

Alcohol abuse is a still greater problem. Alcohol is used far more frequently than other drugs, and first use of alcohol is occurring at younger ages. Also, the historical gap between males and females in alcohol use in decreasing (Scarpitti and Datesman, 1980). As a result of increased alcohol abuse, arrest rates for "drunkenness" among under-18-year-olds increased three-fold between 1960 and 1980, and arrest rates for "driving under the influence" increased 28-fold for the same age group during this period (U.S. Department of Justice, 1980, Tables 24 and 33). Given these statistics, it is not surprising that one-in-six deaths among young people is alcohol related. As with illicit drugs, alcohol use has also declined during the 1980s (Johnston et al., 1989; U.S. Department of Education, 1991, citing various reports).

Alienation. Low rates of participation in the electoral process by young people is an indicator of alienation from the political system. There was a nearly steady decline in the percentage of young people ages 18 to 24 voting in presidential elections between 1968 and 1988. By 1988, the voting rate had shrunk to 36.2 percent, by far the lowest of any age group (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1989). In 1976, when asked why they did not vote, 30 percent of the youths surveyed reported that lack of interest was a major reason for not voting (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1978, pp. 54-58).

Another sign of alienation was the high number of young people, largely middle class, who have joined charismatic communal religious organizations, or

"cults," especially during the 1960s and 1970s. Regarding a link between political alienation and cult membership, we turn to evidence from an extensive analysis of one of the larger Jesus movement organizations: "These young people who collectively were not particularly politically-oriented (in terms of activity) before joining became even less so after joining. Most had not been very involved in politics in their society, or in vigorous attempts to challenge or change the system before joining, and they became even more politically uninvolved after joining" (Richardson et al., 1979, p. 220). In the early 1990s, cult membership has declined somewhat, but more violent forms of group alienation — especially gang membership — appear to be increasing.

Unmarried Pregnancy and Childbirth. More than one million teenagers become pregnant each year; 650,000 of these are unmarried. Teen pregnancies annually result in more than 500,000 live births; over half of these to unmarried mothers. Nine out of ten babies born to black teens are outside of marriage (Dryfoos, 1985). While the rate of out-of-wedlock births among nonwhite teenagers has been much higher than that of white teenagers, it is noteworthy that the white rate grew 109.1 percent between 1960 and 1978, while the nonwhite rate grew only 9.7 percent during this period (U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1982, p. 33). Continuing this trend, the white rate of births to unmarried 15-to-19-year-olds grew by 53 percent between 1980 and 1988, but the black rate grew by only 5 percent during the same period (U.S. Department of Education, 1991, citing various health statistical reports). To be sure, the rate of unmarried childbirth is still more than three times higher for black teens than for white teens, but whites are beginning to "close the gap." For example, this national trend has been reflected in the author's hometown, St. Louis. Between 1973 and 1983, total out-of-wedlock births rose by 10 percent in St. Louis City, which is substantially black, but by 153 percent in St. Louis County, which is substantially white (Signor, 1984, pp. 1 and 4).

Data on out-of-wedlock pregnancy and childbirth correspond with family formation patterns. In the black community, marriage is no longer the dominant pattern of family formation; a majority of black babies are born to single mothers. For the population as a whole, median age of first marriage has increased among males from 22.8 in 1950 to 25.3 in 1987, and among females from 20.3 in 1950 to 23.6 in 1987 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990; U.S. Department of Labor, 1991, p. 14). Quite likely the rising pattern of single-parent family formation is related to lack of opportunity for teens and young adults in the labor market. Increasingly, young families cannot become economically independent and consequently marriage is postponed or is not considered as a possibility. Despite economic constraints,

however, sexual activity, pregnancy, and birthing continue.

Homicide and Suicide. Finally, the most disturbing indicators of a troubled youth population are increased death rates by homicide and suicide. Among 15-to-19-year-olds, the homicide rate was 4.0 per 100,000 in 1960, 8.1 in 1970, 10.6 in 1980, and 11.7 in 1988. Older youths followed a similar pattern. Among 20-to-24-year-olds, the homicide rate was 8.2 per 100,000 in 1960, 16.0 in 1970, 20.6 in 1980, and mercifully a somewhat reduced 19.0 in 1988 (U.S. Department of Education, 1991, citing vital statistics reports). The homicide rate for nonwhite young people has been much higher than that of whites; however, between 1950 and 1978 the white rate increased 232.0 percent, while the nonwhite rate increased only 15.7 percent (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1982, p. 35). Again, there is a picture of whites beginning to "close the gap." Sharply increasing suicide rates are perhaps more disturbing. Among 15-to-19-year-olds, the suicide rate was 3.6 per 100,000 in 1960, 5.9 in 1970, 8.5 in 1980, and 11.3 in 1988. Again, older youths followed a similar pattern. Among 20-to-24-year-olds, the suicide rate was 7.1 per 100,000 in 1960, 12.2 in 1970, 16.1 in 1980, and a slightly better 15.0 in 1988 (U.S. Department of Education, 1991, citing vital statistics reports). Between 1950 and 1978, the white rate rose 176.6 percent and the nonwhite rate rose 161.8 percent (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1982, p. 35). According to one expert, "The U.S. now ranks among the highest countries in the world in the suicide rate of its young men, surpassing Japan and Sweden, countries long identified with the problem of suicide" (Hendin, 1982, p. 29). Suicide among the young is now sometimes referred to as an "epidemic." Among young white males, suicide is now the second leading cause of death, exceeded only by accidents (many of which may also be suicides or semi-suicides).

YOUTH PARTICIPATION AND PROBLEMS IN PERSPECTIVE

Are all of the above youth problems unrelated to one another? Probably not. The overall pattern of decline is too striking. Data on unemployment, dropouts, incarceration, crime, drug and alcohol abuse, alienation, out-of-wedlock births, and deaths by homicide and suicide describe a deteriorating condition of young people in the United States over the past several decades. The problems occur not only in central cities, and not only among nonwhites. Suburbs and rural areas also have been affected by these trends, and, according to some of the indicators discussed above, the condition of white young people has in recent years deteriorated more rapidly than that of nonwhites.

There are, to be sure, a variety of competing explanations for each of the problems identified above and each of these explanations may capture a bit of the truth, but it is not these particularistic explanations which are of interest here. What is the larger picture? Is there a general explanation which encompasses a range of more specific issues? I believe there is. All of these trends can be viewed instructively in relation to changes in the youth labor market. In brief, there have been major historical shifts in labor market opportunities for young people and it is these changes which primarily account for long- and short-term patterns in other categories of youth participation and youth problems.

Let us begin with a long-term perspective. In pre-industrial America, young people played an essential role in the economy. Virtually everyone was incorporated into a predominantly household labor market in a universal effort to work and stay alive. The vast majority of this work was in family-centered agriculture, and even in the case of non-agricultural goods, most production occurred in family units. For young people without families, the indenture system and apprenticeship provided household-centered employment and a place in the community (Thurston, 1930).

With industrialization, this pattern changed. Production shifted out of agriculture and away from households. Work and family life became separated. A mobile labor force was created and the nature of work performed by young people changed greatly. The relatively easy integration of children into the normal work life of the community was disrupted (Bailyn, 1960). During the period of early industrialization, around the middle of the nineteenth century, there was a strong demand for youth labor in factories. Many of these jobs were debilitating and dangerous. Nonetheless, young people were employed and thus continued to play an important role in the economy. Older youths, those we would call "adolescents" today, also were employed in factories or, if non-working class, in professional, commercial, or craft jobs (Katz, 1975, p. 166). "Youth unemployment" was unknown in 1850.

As industrialization progressed, the demand for agricultural labor continued to decline and soon even the industrial demand for child labor decreased due to improved machine efficiency and a great expansion in immigration (Osterman, 1980, pp. 51-74). More and more young people were out of work. More and more became vagrants. More and more were incarcerated as dependents or delinquents (Downs and Sherraden, 1983; Sherraden and Downs, 1984).

"The last years of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century set the pattern for the modern economy. Technological

innovation, the advent of mass production and distribution, and the creation of giant corporations transformed the economy" (Osterman, 1980, p. 53). The agricultural and industrial need for unskilled labor continued to decline and, with another surge in immigration between 1900 and 1910, the supply of unskilled labor increased rapidly. As a consequence of these forces, youth labor was less and less in demand. After decades of struggle, social welfare activists finally were able to enact legislation against child labor, primarily because industry no longer needed youthful workers (Osterman, 1980).

The period from World War One to the present witnessed a consolidation of these trends. Young people were increasingly separated from the economy. Labor market attachments grew increasingly tenuous. With the post-World War Two surge in the youth population, this situation became exacerbated. By the 1970s, young people were, from an economic viewpoint, more marginal than ever before (Osterman, 1980). Today, in the early 1990s, it has become clear that the youth labor market has changed markedly. Demand for youth labor is declining in all manufacturing sectors and in nearly every service sector except retail trade (where employment growth is predominantly fast food establishments; see Waldinger and Bailey, 1985). For example, while 9.1 million jobs were created between the November of 1982 and February of 1986, teenagers, who represented nearly 18 percent of the unemployed, received less than 0.5 percent of the new jobs (Roosevelt Centennial Youth Project, 1986, citing data from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics).

Looking to the future, some have even predicted a shortage of youth labor in the years ahead. However, given the long-term historical pattern, there is reason to be very skeptical that youth labor market problems will be so easily resolved. If one predicts — as seem likely — increasingly rapid technological change, continued transfer of unskilled jobs to international markets, and continued immigration into the U.S., then prospects for youth employment in the future are extremely dubious. The recent past may offer a clue to the future. Employment patterns indicate that young people, despite their decreased proportion of the population, are becoming even more economically irrelevant.

What does all of this have to do with school enrollments, incarceration, and various youth problems? To put it simply, there is a strong historical case that the educational system and incarceration have followed, not led, the labor market. In general, as relative demand for youth labor has decreased, school enrollments and incarceration of young people have increased. There are two reasons for this pattern: (1) increasing educational requirements for more sophisticated jobs, and

(2) increasing societal need to occupy and control a youth population which is less and less needed in the labor market. There is substantial evidence to support both of these perspectives (Osterman, 1980).

The interesting question, perhaps the key to understanding youth problems in the 1990s, is to ask why the long-term pattern of increases in school enrollments and high school graduation paused around 1975 and has not improved much since. The answer to this question provides the crux of the analysis:

Historically, education has gradually replaced the labor market as the primary social and economic institution which assumes responsibility for moving young people from childhood through the teenage years to adulthood. For a long time, the educational system performed this function effectively in the United States. However, as job skills have continued to rise, as demand for youth and young adult labor has continued to fall, and as family and community patterns have changed, more and more expectations have been placed on the educational system.

Today the educational system is expected simultaneously to prepare an ever-more skilled labor force, control an ever-larger marginal population, and carry out many of the socialization functions which formerly were the responsibility of the family and community (Janowitz, 1976, pp. 34-35 and 104-105). In a word, the educational system is overloaded — not overloaded in numbers of young people (although this is also true in some school districts), but overloaded in social and economic expectations. Rapid technological and social change and the decline in demand for youth labor are now so pronounced that the school system cannot "keep up" with all that has been put on its shoulders (see also Ravitch, 1983).

Regarding dropouts, it is clear, especially in many of our urban schools, that completing a high school education does not provide as easy an entry into gainful employment as was formerly the case. Indeed, high school education is now more removed from labor market opportunity than ever before. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that the high school graduation rate has ceased its historical ascent. Young people are simply opting out of an educational process which provides uncertain returns (Papagiannis et al., 1983).

To put this another way, schools cannot indefinitely occupy and control an ever-larger segment of the youth population which is not needed in the traditional labor market. (For clarification, the preceding statement does not refer to the total size of school enrollments, which have declined in recent years. Rather, it refers to the decline in demand for youth labor.) This control function has broken down. Young people are not playing along. In many respects, it is inaccurate to view these young people as "dropouts." They never really dropped in. They have

attended school, often erratically, because school is compulsory and because there are tremendous social pressures to attend. But they have been marginal for many years. They have gone through the motions, but they have not been engaged in the educational process. Dropping out is only a visible sign of this underlying pattern of disengagement.

This reasoning can be extended to many of the youth problems described above. In short, the family, the labor market, and the educational system in combination are no longer effectively "managing" the transition from childhood to adulthood for many young people. Increasing numbers of these young people do not foresee employment opportunities or a place in society. They have become frightened, alienated, angry, and resigned. The evidence shows up as crime, drug and alcohol abuse, non-participation, teenage pregnancy, homicides, and suicides.

In sum, making the transition from childhood to independent adulthood and effective citizenship is now a long and difficult process. What used to happen relatively smoothly through the labor market and the educational system now happens with jerks and starts over an extended adolescent period. Many young people do not effectively make the transition to adulthood. Many others are diminished as people and as citizens in the process. And because of these personal and social casualties, the nation's future is indeed "at risk."

HOW MUCH CAN WE EXPECT FROM SCHOOLS?

Educational historians have, for the most part, not clearly articulated the changing dynamics of youth participation. Indeed, educational history itself has been shaped by the economic and social trends described above. "Knowledge" tends to be a product of its time. The "new educational history" (see especially Bailyn, 1960; also Callahan, 1962), which originated in the early 1960s, and the movement toward more radical or "revisionist" interpretations (e.g., Katz, 1968; Grier, 1973), which have characterized recent decades of educational history, are themselves reflections of the declining efficacy of education as an institution. These more critical perspectives on education have arisen at a time when the educational system has become overburdened with expectations and has faltered. The revisionists are correct in their view that education in the U.S. is not as perfect as the "Great School Legend" (Grier, 1973) would have us believe, but they are largely misguided in their explanation of what is wrong with this idyllic portrait of education. More than sorting and shaping-up young people for the labor market, as the revisionists suggest, schools have served primarily to occupy and control a large youth

population which is not needed in the labor market. Because schools have begun to fulfill this function less effectively in recent years, the nation has witnessed, as described above, a cluster of negative trends on social indicators, including school drop-out rates and incarceration rates.

The revisionist interpretation is not only essentially incorrect, but, as Provenzo (1985) notes, neither is it very practical. As with most neo-Marxian interpretations, revisionist educational history does not easily admit the possibility of reform. Change must be total and throughout the class structure or there can be no "meaningful" change at all. This is, at best, oversimplified. Taking another viewpoint, Provenzo, in his critique of the revisionists, is not any more helpful. He does not say that the educational revisionists are incorrect; on the contrary, he implicitly seems to accept their analysis. However, instead of despair, he offers a vague plea to "remystify" our view of the schools — in other words, we should believe in the "Great School Legend" even if we know it to be false. This is, at best, wishful thinking. Thus, neither the revisionists nor the "remystifiers" arrive at a very useful conclusion.

An institutional analysis, on the other hand, recognizes that schools are a social institution which functions in advanced economies, both capitalist and socialist, to socialize, prepare, and control the youthful population prior to labor force entry. In this regard, as indicated above, schools have gradually replaced the labor market itself as the primary institutional form for young people. Today, however, the schools in the U.S. are no longer carrying out this function as effectively as they once did. This situation might be described as an institutional inadequacy or institutional gap, and it is neither sinister nor mystical. These institutional dynamics are best understood as historical developments created by population and technological influences on supply and demand for labor. With this perspective, it is possible to consider development of alternative institution(s) as a step toward resolving the problem.

MYTH AND YOUTH POLICY

How have trends in youth participation been interpreted in recent years? Very influential social myths about young people guide interpretation and public policy. These social myths change from one time period to another. For example, the "social dynamite" myth, which described dangerous, unemployed, urban youths, was dominant during the 1960s and 1970s. The nation was afraid of riots and this fear led to youth employment policy oriented toward riot prevention — summer jobs

that led nowhere but kept urban blacks off the street (Sherraden and Adamek, 1984). In contrast, during the 1980s, the "underclass" myth defined urban youths as incapable and hopeless rather than dangerous, and led to policies of hopelessness — curtailment of public effort. The most recent myth is the "shortage of youth labor." This myth too is affecting public policy. Despite unemployment statistics suggesting the contrary, many policy-makers now believe that the youth unemployment problem — except for "underclass" exceptions — will take care of itself. For example, this was a major theme of a 1986 "Youth 2000" conference sponsored by the National Alliance of Business and co-sponsored by the U.S. Department of Labor and the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.

One of the most striking features of youth myths over the past two decades — "social dynamite," then "underclass," now "shortage of youth labor" — is how unconstructive each has been in its policy implications and impacts. What is surely needed is a more constructive perspective, a perspective that is neither fearful nor hopeless nor self-deceiving. This new perspective should be based on the vastly underutilized potential of America's young people, and what they are able and willing to contribute to their communities and the nation if given a chance. Only within such a conceptualization can youth policy become successful.

NOT EMPLOYMENT AND SCHOOLING ALONE TOWARD A NEW SOCIAL INSTITUTION

If the above analysis is correct, the next question is what to do about these problems. This question cannot, of course, be taken lightly. Truly effective public policy solutions are few and far between, and recognizing the odds against success, formulating such solutions must be undertaken with a degree of humility. Nonetheless, three basic observations follow from the above analysis and these may be useful guidelines in thinking about policy choices.

First, shouting "crisis" is not particularly helpful. It is true that, in many respects, America's young people face a difficult present and an uncertain future. However, this situation has been developing for a long, long time. Problems in the labor market, the school system, and with incarceration did not pop up just prior to today's cries of concern, nor are these problems likely to be resolved by a quick and masterful solution. There is an unfortunate propensity in U.S. policy-making toward "discovering" a crisis and then throwing new policy into place in an effort to save the day, much as one would put out a fire or rescue a drowning child. Unfortunately, most problems are not, in reality, so dramatic. They are quieter,

slower, steadier, and much more embedded in the social and economic structure. Until youth problems are understood in these terms, effective public policy solutions are not likely to be forthcoming.

Second, the problems of young people in American today are not totally, or even principally, problems of the schools. As noted above, the U.S. has, if anything, expected too much of its schools. The educational system cannot solve every problem in a rapidly changing post-industrial society. In this regard, the recent wave of educational policy statements suffers, with some few exceptions, from a kind of educational centrism, i.e., schools tend to be viewed in isolation. However, given the existing and foreseeable labor market conditions for young people, especially minorities, schools, no matter how "reformed," will not resolve the youth problems which we see today. These problems are, above all else, the result of rapidly changing labor market opportunities.

Third, the issue of concern is not solely economic. Historically, the school system and labor market in combination have been extremely effective in building a base of civic consciousness and active citizen participation which, in turn, have supported our democratic political institutions (Janowitz, 1976). Democracy, although it is often taken for granted in the United States, is a fragile construction, built on trust, tolerance, mutual respect, and mutual commitment. When civic commitment is enough diminished, the political structure itself will be under severe strain (Dewey, 1916; Adler, 1982). Therefore, policy solutions should focus not only on enhancing economic productivity, but also on building a base for vital and responsible citizen participation in the affairs of the community and the nation.

POLICY RECOMMENDATION

Public debate and public policy should forthrightly acknowledge youth unemployment problems and seek constructive alternatives to the deteriorating youth labor market. With so many young people out of work, and with such devastating consequences of unemployment, especially for minority youths, it is short-sighted to create and promulgate the "social dynamite" myth, the "underclass" myth, or the "shortage of youth labor" myth. In the end, youth unemployment problems will require informed, thoughtful analysis and vigorous social policy rather than the selective story-telling, unfounded assumptions, and almost wishful thinking that characterizes much of today's journalism and public policy.

With an abundance of educational policy recommendations already on legislative agendas in every state, another proposal for school reform is probably not

needed. Nor, as indicated above, is it clear that reforming the schools can by itself resolve the fundamental structural problems facing young people in America today. For example, there seem to be few ideas in recent educational reform statements that would make much of a dent in the problem of school dropouts.

Therefore, let us consider a somewhat different approach, the creation of a new institution — neither labor market nor schooling — through which large numbers of young people can legitimately and constructively participate in society and have that participation recognized and rewarded. As one of the most promising possibilities for a new type of social institution, *the nation should move toward a broad, diverse, and voluntary national service which is open to all young people.* National service projects might include — but would not be limited to — home care of the elderly, day care of children, natural resource conservation, weatherization of housing, disaster relief, and literacy education. As essential steps toward this goal, states and localities should continue to develop voluntary youth service programs appropriate to local needs and conditions.

Consistent with the analysis above, a system of national service would become a major new social and economic institution to augment the traditional labor market and educational system. Just as widespread public education was an innovative institution when the youth labor market declined during the late nineteenth century, so now does the nation require an innovative institution to complement the overburdened and faltering educational system in the twentieth century.

Note that this is not a proposal to adjust or tinker with either the traditional labor market or the school system. Nor is it a proposal to start a new "program." Instead, the proposal is more ambitious: The nation requires an entirely new structure of opportunities for young people to participate in the affairs of their communities.

Obviously, this cannot occur overnight. However, if the idea has merit, a broad national service can be built slowly and steadily over a period of years. Precedents such as the Civilian Conservation Corps (1933-42), the Peace Corps (1961-present), and VISTA (1965-present) offer valuable lessons. State and local programs in California, San Francisco, Michigan, Maryland, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, New York City, Boston, and elsewhere can provide the building blocks for a large, diverse, but integrated national service system. Just as education expanded many years ago and gained credibility over several decades, national service could be expected to follow a similar developmental path.

A policy analysis and proposal for a system of voluntary national service

has been previously presented (Eberly, 1966; Sherraden and Eberly, 1982; Coalition for National Service, 1988). In brief, national service would have the following characteristics: (1) it would be voluntary; (2) opportunity would be universal, with minimal mental and physical standards less rigorous than those of the military; (3) many diverse service opportunities would be offered and participants would have a choice; (4) much of the program would be operated at the local level under the control of private not-for-profit and public agencies, with a quasi-public foundation (similar to the Corporation for Public Broadcasting) established to receive appropriations, approve applications, and maintain standards; (5) the program would be allowed to expand and grow depending on demand and support at the local level; (6) there would be a strong primary emphasis on productive service; (7) participants would earn a period of post-high school education and training, similar to the old GI Bill.

The potential benefits of a national service along these lines would be many. For example, let us concentrate on those aspects of a voluntary youth service program which could reduce the number of school dropouts. If such an institution were in place, young people would have another legitimate and constructive choice. Those in national service would not be "dropouts," they would be national service participants. Clearly, such a program should be integrated with the educational system so that young people could move in various ways from school to national service and back to school. These integrative mechanisms would include (1) simultaneous service and study, (2) planned alternate semesters of service and study, (3) service-learning for educational credit, and (4) educational stipends for a period of service. If such a system were widely in place, the total number of dropouts would fall substantially. Positive experiences in national service would increase the likelihood that participants would continue or return to school and, in the process, enrich both themselves and the schools.

A flexible arrangement between the educational system and a program of national service would be ideally suited to the dynamics of the dropout problem. First, thinking of preventing dropouts, one of the most successful youth employment experiments in past decades was the Youth Incentive Entitlement Pilot Projects. This program guaranteed a part-time job to young people in disadvantaged urban areas who stayed in school. In spite of the added challenge of working while going to school, the program had a positive impact on school enrollments (Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation, 1983). A variation of national service tied to education could be expected to have similar effects. Either financial or educational incentives could be structured into a joint school and service

program. Ernest Boyer's proposal for a "new Carnegie unit" of community service is consistent with this idea (Boyer, 1983).

Second, we now know that dropping out, for many young people, is not a permanent condition. For example: "In the year between the spring of 1979 and that of 1980 approximately 180,000 of the 14 to 22 year olds who had dropped out of high school returned. These youth represent approximately one-third of the number who left school during that period" (Borus and Carpenter, 1983). A significant portion of dropouts pursue a GED. Thus, dropping out is not, for many young people, a definite, final act. Rather it is a step in a fluid process of disengagement, and the step is often reversed. Moreover, it is likely that the step could be reversed for many more dropouts if they were able to break an essentially negative pattern of events. Dropping out is frequently only one step in a downward spiral which might include unemployment, crime, extreme apathy, abuse of drugs or alcohol, and teenage pregnancy. At some point in this downward spiral, young people become too far removed from the educational system to get back to it. National service would not by any means "save" all of these young people; however, national service would legitimize being out-of-school by providing a period of structured activity which is productive and socially acceptable. If some aspects of national service were consciously oriented toward returning young dropouts to high school or toward completion of a GED, the impact could be substantial.

Third, after students had dropped out, service-learning for academic credit in a national service program could become an alternative pathway toward educational achievement. This would not replace traditional schooling, but would complement it (Ramsay, 1982). Thus, national service — although it would not be oriented exclusively toward disadvantaged youths, dropouts, or any other special group — could nonetheless have very positive effects regarding dropouts. As indicated above, variations of national service could be designed with these effects in mind. The key to realizing this potential lies in legitimizing an alternative to school and the labor market. National service would be a new option, a new social institution which would enable more young people to contribute to their communities and move toward independent adulthood and effective citizenship in a post-industrial society.

CONCLUSION: PUBLIC WILL AND PUBLIC POLICY

A long-term view, such as undertaken in this essay, can leave us with the idea that we are at the mercy of deep structural currents beyond our control, like

corks bobbled about on the tides of history. In my view, this would be a one-sided reading of the history of institutions of youth participation in America.

Of course it is true that, due to technological factors, the labor market has receded from young people and very likely will continue to do so. Very probably we could not alter this trend even if we wanted to do so. It is also true that various forms of incarceration arose primarily in response to the declining youth labor market, essentially filling the institutional void — something had to be done with all those unemployed and misbehaving, or potentially misbehaving, young people. Overall, the rise in incarceration of young people has been a reactive, uncreative, and largely damaging response to the declining youth labor market.

However, not all changes in youth institutions have been unguided by thoughtful public policy. The primary example is the rise in public education. While this development was clearly in response to the declining youth labor market, educational leaders and state level policy-makers created legislation and built schools that would significantly educate the U.S. population and lay the groundwork for economic growth and strengthening of democracy in the twentieth century. This was a major example of purposeful institution building that positively served the needs of American young people and the society for many decades.

Another example in purposeful institutional change was the policy decision initiated in the early twentieth century to limit orphanage and almshouse care of dependent children. This decision resulted in the rise in foster care and AFDC. While foster care and AFDC have their problems as well, they are a huge improvement over the horrors of mass incarceration of dependent children that was occurring in the late nineteenth century. The decision to stop institutional care of dependent children was initiated by social reformers as a proactive response to a dreadful situation — and it was successful. It is unfortunate that, to date, a similar decision has not been made regarding the incarceration of older youths and young adults. Once taken, such a decision would very likely have far-reaching consequences.

As a concluding thought, it is useful for us to bear in mind these historical examples of purposeful institutional change. If, as many believe, the United States today requires a new institution for young people to create new opportunities to participate in society — something along the lines of a national service being discussed at this conference — then we need not feel overwhelmed by political inertia or overpowered by the tides of history. In the past, at critical junctures, social advocates and policy-makers have taken in hand the task of altering the institutional landscape, and today we can do so again. What is required is activist,

creative, and audacious social policy-making — exactly the kind of thought and action that characterizes the life and work of participants at this conference. May our discussions serve as another step toward a new institution for youth participation and democracy in the twenty-first century — a non-military national service.

NOTE

This essay draws in part on previous work by the author, including Sherraden and Eberly (1982), Downs and Sherraden (1983), Sherraden and Downs (1984); Sherraden and Adamek (1984), Sherraden (1986, 1987), and Eberly and Sherraden (1990).

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2.
NATIONAL YOUTH SERVICE
A DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTION FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

By Donald J. Eberly and James C. Kielsmeier

"Ultimately, it's the institutions that countries have that determine how well they do." Mancur Olson

This paper outlines an approach that will enable two sets of responsibilities to be discharged; namely, the responsibility of the nation to its future and the responsibility of young people to their heritage. The extent to which these responsibilities are exercised will help to determine how well the United States fulfills its promise as a democracy and how well its citizens fulfill their potential as human beings.

If these two sets of responsibilities are properly discharged, an institution that we call national youth service will emerge. It will come into being largely as the result of a redefinition of the roles and responsibilities of existing institutions, most notably the institutions of formal education, citizenship, the public sector, the private sector, and volunteerism. It will redefine the role of young people in society.

In his review of the way the institutions that affect young people have changed in the course of the 19th and 20th centuries, Michael Sherraden concludes that there is now a severe "institutional gap." We concur. Our children remain emotionally priceless but are generally viewed as economically useless, as liabilities rather than as assets to family units. Young people in the proverbial prime of their lives are simply not needed, and they know it. A 1985 Minnesota Youth Poll showed that two-thirds of the statewide cross section of young people felt that adults do not respect them. Young people lack roles and meaning and purpose. They feel little stake in their community or country (18 year old voting rates are the lowest of any age) and often turn to personally or socially destructive behaviors in order to vent their frustrations or instead succumb to the abyss of despair, depression and self destruction.

Significant life experiences grounded in responsibility, leadership and service to others are too often absent form school and community-based education. James Coleman has described modern American young people as "information rich but action poor." Almost exclusive reliance on formal education as a tool for youth

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Cadet	A person enrolled in National Service.
Grantee	An entity — typically a state, city or nonprofit organization — that receives money from the federal government and disburses it in accordance with its agreement with the federal government.
National Service	Full-time, voluntary service by young people which is in the national interest and which meets human and environmental needs.
Service-learning	The integration of service with academic growth, wherein the service informs the learning and the learning informs the service. Service-learning is more of a process than a program and can be either voluntary or mandatory, paid or unpaid, full time or part time.
Sponsor	A public or nonprofit organization which engages a Cadet to help accomplish its mission.
Volunteerism	The institution wherein people serve of their own free will and receive no remuneration for services rendered.

development has clearly not produced the desired results. A new institution is needed which integrates the humane application of knowledge in the context of meaningful contribution to community.

National youth service is an institution with the potential to bridge the gap between the needs of young people to be needed and the imperative that learning take place in a practical format. Moreover, as youth development is accomplished through national youth service, significant unmet social and environmental needs will be addressed.

The organizations that will comprise the institution of national youth service in the 21st Century already exist. They are the public agencies and nonprofit organizations with which young people will serve, the schools and colleges that will recognize the learning that derives from the service experience, the employers who will recognize that youth service enhances one's employability as much as formal schooling or paid work, and the Commission on National and Community Service that will provide financial and technical support for youth service.

The duties of the Commission on National and Community Service were set forth in the National and Community Service Act of 1990 and the Commission came into being in August of 1991. Most of the money available to the commission will support young people in National Service with existing programs such as the Pennsylvania Conservation Corps; young people in National Service demonstration projects, and school and college students engaged in service-learning activities. The law authorizes an expenditure of $287 million for fiscal years 1991-1993, inclusive, and the authorized level of $62 million for fiscal year 1991 was fully appropriated. Authorization levels for fiscal years 1992 and 1993 are $105 million and $120 million, respectively.

Most of the elements that will be a part of the youth service institution have been tested with proven success. The Civilian Conservation Corps of the 1930s and the Peace Corps, now 30 years old, are the most notable examples. Some are less well-known and include the California Conservation Corps, the Washington State Service Corps and the New York City Volunteer Corps.

A number of high schools and colleges have established exemplary programs that combine service experiences undertaken by students with their educational growth. For example, Minnesota high school chemistry students monitoring air and water pollution receive academic credit for the knowledge they acquire from performing a service. Thus, educational goals and service goals are being met at the same time in a process usually referred to as service-learning.

The above examples illustrate the reason to call the new institution national youth service rather than federal youth service. The totality of service

activities that will comprise the new institution will range from those receiving full federal support like the Peace Corps, to those receiving partial federal support like the New Hampshire Conservation Corps, to those receiving no federal support like Boston's City Year. It is analogous to the American national education system, which ranges from federal institutions like the United States Military Academy at West Point, to large numbers of schools and colleges receiving partial federal support, to a number of private schools that choose to perform their mission in the absence of federal dollars.

The challenge is to integrate the various pieces into a coherent whole that establishes national youth service as a universal, democratic institution of the 21st Century. What must be done is for these organizations to assume a role that recognizes youth service not as "a nice thing for a few people" but as something integral to their basic mission and for which they share responsibility. As a nation, we must create service opportunities worthy of our young people.

The needed redefinition of roles and responsibilities is described below.

FORMAL EDUCATION

Schools and colleges will recognize the educational value of the service experience. A number of them already do, but generally in a fairly limited way. Accreditation for learning derived from service must come to be accepted across the board and not just for social studies or citizenship courses. From Spanish to physics, every course offers opportunities for service-learning experiences. This means that teacher training colleges need to incorporate service experiences for students — after all, it is little different from practice teaching — and instruct students about the basis for awarding credit.

While participation in service-learning will be a new role for many teachers, the prerogative for accreditation will remain unchanged. The mere performance of a community service is not necessarily academic; the teacher must be convinced that the student has grown academically. To assess what learning occurs, the teacher asks students to set forth learning objectives in advance of undertaking the service, assigns collateral reading, invites local officials in the area of the student service to respond to questions raised by the service experience, and requires the students to report on what they have learned from the service experience and related activities.

Except for activities such as tutoring — where a teacher is normally the supervisor — teachers should not as a rule supervise the service experience. This task is more appropriately performed by the person in charge of the service activity.

Thus, the student looks to the teacher for educational guidance and to the supervisor for guidance in performing the service.

Just as the ideal curriculum is developmentally appropriate for students, so are the most effective service-learning activities. The experiences are within student capabilities but still challenging. First graders sing to residents of a nursing home; seventh graders tutor children learning to read and write; eleventh graders go shopping for old folks; university students run a literacy center; university graduates perform environmental research in Alaska or Indonesia.

A number of four-year colleges will offer a baccalaureate degree that incorporates one year of National Service with three years of classroom study. A few colleges have programs which add a period of service to the normal four-year requirement, thus begging the question of the educational value of the service experience. The professor's responsibility during the year of National Service will be to see to it that the student has outlined a set of learning objectives before undertaking the service experience, that she periodically reports on progress toward these objectives and on circumstances causing a change in objectives, that she is exposed to suitable literature and other materials, that she has occasional discussions with the professor in which she reflects on what she is learning, and that she makes a final report or other presentation that demonstrates her learning in the context of her objectives.

CITIZENSHIP

The general public will come to view national youth service as the exercise of a citizenship responsibility by young people, much as the public already views voting and jury duty in this light. It is suggested from time to time that National Service be a pre-requisite for voting, holding elective office, using national parks, and getting a driver's license. Such proposals are well intended but fail to recognize that National Service is not simply an either-or proposition. It is a fundamental responsibility whose proper discharge will benefit the nation as well as those individuals who meet their responsibility, and whose neglect will almost certainly harm the nation as well as those individuals who are negligent.

The general public favors the idea of National Service but their support tends to waver when they learn it may cost several billion dollars a year (Gallup, 1988; Hedin, 1982; Moskos, 1988). The only way to overcome this hesitation is to demonstrate National Service on a scale large enough that the public is well aware of its existence both by knowing Cadets and by seeing the effects of their service. It will probably take a National Service enrollment of about 100,000, or ten times the

current enrollment of 18-24 year olds in the Peace Corps, California Conservation Corps, and similar programs.

A similar phenomenon will take place with service-learning. When taxpayers see its impact on their children and their neighbors' children, they will be agreeable to adding a few pennies to their tax bill to pay for service-learning coordinators and related expenses. This is already happening in Minnesota, where 90 percent of the state's population have volunteered to be taxed for school-based service-learning, and where the service-learning programs mentioned above have received an increase in the amount of local funding in each of the last three budget sessions (1987, 1989, 1991) of the state legislature.

THE PUBLIC SECTOR

A redefinition of federal roles and responsibilities for national youth service is not only called for in this paper; it is mandated by act of Congress. The National and Community Service Act stipulates that a report be completed by the President no later than January 1, 1993 which includes but is not limited to "a description of the roles and responsibilities of the ACTION agency, the Commission on National Service [sic] and other Federal entities in developing and coordinating National policy on voluntarism and national and community service and any recommendations for clarifying or altering the missions and responsibilities of such entities which may be appropriate." We commend the following policies to the President and to the general public.

Substantial support of National Service by the federal government is well justified. The health of the environment, the restoration of our lands and forests, and the promotion of the general welfare (in the constitutional sense) are appropriate responsibilities of the federal government. Evaluations of National Service projects have shown that the value of the services rendered by such activities generally falls between 100% and 200% of the costs. Additional benefits — notably work experience and career exploration — accrue to Cadets but are difficult to quantify.

Support from the federal government for service-learning is needed but state and local governments should ultimately assume major responsibility for the continued support and implementation of service-learning activities. The benefits of service-learning are largely educational and accrue primarily to the participant. Since the financing of education rests largely with state and local governments, they should carry most of the burden of funding service-learning.

National Youth Service Foundation. *A National Youth Service Foundation*

will be established to support national youth service activities. It is vital that National Service be administered by an agency whose mission embraces the several purposes of national youth service, not by ACTION or Labor or Education or Interior. The problem is that any of these agencies would bring its particular bias to national youth service. The Agency for International Development made a strong effort to capture the Peace Corps after John F. Kennedy's election in 1960 and before his designation of the Peace Corps as an independent agency of government on March 1, 1961. As a branch of AID, there is little doubt that the Peace Corps would have become a minor technical assistance arm of AID and tens of thousands of young Americans would not have found outlets for their idealism and enthusiasm.

The Foundation will support young people in community service and conservation work through state, local and nonprofit grantees. A single grantee, operating on the basis of an agreement between it and the Foundation, will typically support several thousand Cadets serving with several hundred sponsors.

If the Commission on National and Community Service does a good job, it can be simply transformed into a National Youth Service Foundation. If not, such a Foundation should be created.

ACTION. *ACTION will be transformed into the National Senior Service Foundation and focus on service by elderly citizens.* ACTION already has RSVP, Foster Grandparents and Senior Companions. The Green Thumb program, now administered by the Department of Labor, can be transferred to ACTION. The case to be made here is the exploding resource of healthy seniors. They need to be engaged much more fully than they are now, for their sake and the nation's. It is beyond our scope to do so in this paper, but we would like to see a formula that relates stipends for senior service to Social Security income and yields a small financial motivation to serve while reducing Social Security payouts.

Old-fashioned, unpaid volunteerism does not need and should not have a federal office and federal funds. The largest single group of volunteers — about one third of the total — are in the area of religion serving in such ways as Sunday School teachers and choir members. Many others are in the field of partisan politics where, like religion, the federal government has no business. The part of ACTION which deals with unpaid volunteering can be defunded and the files handed over to VOLUNTEER or the Points of Light Foundation. VISTA, another part of ACTION, belongs with the Commission on National and Community Service.

National Service Education Fund. *The federal government will take the lead in establishing a National Service Education Fund that will be used for the education and training of Cadets.* The fund will accept several kinds of deposits on behalf of individuals. It will receive service funds from the federal government — a modified

GI Bill — in proportion to the amount of time devoted to approved National Service activities. It will receive work deposits from employers who adopt similar policies. It will receive contributions from families and friends, and awards for everything from essay contests to heroic deeds. Withdrawals from an individual's share of the Fund will be made at any time for educational purposes only. The only exceptions will be proven emergency situations and attainment of age 55.

Other Federal Agencies. *Each federal agency will establish positions to be filled by National Service Cadets.* This approach was recommended in 1979 by Rep. John Cavanaugh who proposed a public service system in which each federal agency would allocate 5 percent of its positions to young people (HR 3603, 96th Congress). That is a good target figure for any particular agency, although we would expect some variations. This provision will yield a rich source of potential employees for the agency and will give Cadets an appreciation of the bureaucracy whether or not they pursue some form of public sector employment.

Some agencies will also contribute indirectly to national youth service. A grant from the Department of Housing and Urban Development to a local union to fight lead-based paint poisoning might be used in part to support a local high school physics class that uses nuclear devices to detect the presence of lead in paint, and a local high school carpentry class that is doing practical carpentry in cooperation with the union. The service-learning students contribute directly to the mission of the federal agency.

Selective Service System. *Registration will be lowered from age 18 to age 17 and extended to include young women as well as young men, who will be informed of their service opportunities at the time of registration. When the all-volunteer military is in effect, National Service will be viewed as a separate but equivalent way in which young men and women can discharge their service responsibility. When the draft is in effect, the National Service Option Plan (Eberly, 1966) will become operative and young people will be able to choose which form of service to enter, or to make no choice and expose themselves to a draft for military service.*

Registration in the 21st Century will send this message from the nation to its young people: "We may need to call on you sometime in the future for military duty but we need your help now in serving people in need, in cleaning up the environment and in some military positions. We challenge you to contribute a period of service and here is the information you need to find out about such opportunities."

Young men and women will receive a packet of information when they register. The packet will explain the various civilian and military activities open to

them. It will encourage them to consult with parents, teachers, counselors and others to help them make sound decisions. If the military draft and National Service Option Plan are in effect, young people will make the choice of entering one form of service or the military draft pool at the age of 18.

State and Local Governments. *Governments at all levels will encourage and support national youth service and will establish positions to be filled by National Service Cadets.* A solid foundation for these activities has been laid in recent years by the creation of the Minnesota Youth Service Initiative, PennSERVE and the Massachusetts Youth Service Alliance. The National and Community Service Act of 1990 gives states a major responsibility for administering the several parts of the law.

THE PRIVATE SECTOR

Employers will recognize the value of the service experience in the same way they recognize the value of education and work. This means having a space on the job application form for service experiences and including questions about it in the standard interview.

Employers will be in a better position to tap National Service as a source of future employees if they work closely with it. This can be done in several ways. They can loan a few of their staff members to work directly with local service projects. They can provide the earnest money that may be required of sponsors and thereby establish a direct link with that sponsor and its Cadets. Their staff can serve as mentors to Cadets.

Employers in the public and nonprofit sectors can be sponsors. They can follow the lead of federal agencies and allocate a certain number of positions to be filled by young people in national service. Organizations too poor to become sponsors on their own can seek financial and technical support from profit-making firms.

An illustration of the value of National Service as both career development for the young person and recruitment potential for the employer can be seen in the Program for Local Service, a test of national service conducted by the federal ACTION agency and Washington State in the mid-1970s (Eberly, 1988). The unemployment rate for Cadets fell from 70 percent at time of entry to 18 percent six months after completion of service. Employers recognized their service as the equivalent of work experience. In addition, the service activities brought some of the Cadets into direct contact with potential employers, thus giving them that personal contact which can be invaluable in finding a job. The service experience led directly

to future employment.

VOLUNTEERISM

The volunteer sector will recognize that National Service can strengthen the service mission of volunteerism by extending its outreach and improving its quality. This is evident in National Service programs to date. In the Program for Local Service, the placement of several Cadets in a day care center enabled the center to expand its outreach to children in poor families. In a residential home for young teenagers in need of supervision, the placement of several Cadets enabled the home to improve the quality of its services by increasing the ratio of staff to teenagers and adding activities of interest to them, in this case photography and soccer.

These examples also illustrate the uniqueness of National Service as compared with employment and volunteerism. The Cadets did not displace employees because the center did not have the money to hire additional staff; they did not displace volunteers because the Cadets were serving full-time whereas volunteers typically serve a few hours a week.

DOLLARS, MOTIVATIONS, LINKAGES AND TRANSITION

In addition to the relationship of national youth service with existing institutions, we examine the allocation of funds to support youth service activities, motivations and perceptions of young people, international linkages, and the transition from 1991 to national youth service as an institution in the 21st Century.

Allocation of Funds. The experience of existing National Service programs is instructive in regard to allocating costs. Boston's City Year is totally funded by the private sector. The City Volunteer Corps of New York is totally funded by city tax dollars. The California Conservation Corps is totally funded by state tax dollars, and VISTA is totally funded by federal tax dollars. The private sector of Boston, the City of New York, the State of California and the United States of America have separately determined that National Service activities are in their respective interests and that an annual expenditure of $10,000 or more per participant is well justified.

The disquieting note with all of these programs is their low ceiling on growth. Two of them — VISTA at age 26 and the California Conservation Corps at age 20 — are mature programs. Yet VISTA enrolls only 3400 volunteers and has never enrolled more than 5500 at any one time, and the California Conservation Corps reached a plateau enrollment of 2000 young people about a decade ago and

has remained there. It should be possible to enhance the growth potential of such programs by diversifying their sources of support, thereby lowering the unit costs to each supporter. Such a cost-sharing arrangement can also strengthen the integrity of National Service by having funding arrangements that bear a direct relationship to the benefits derived. Thus, a broad base of support is one criterion for the allocation of the costs of National Service.

The other two criteria for allocating costs are intended to assure a universal opportunity to serve and high quality service activities. Thus, (a) all young people willing to serve should be able to serve; and (b) the sponsor should be required to provide supervision, training and a cash contribution.

A balanced approach to this set of criteria suggests that the federal government underwrite National Service up to 70 percent of a lean budget; that the sponsor provide 10 percent of the participants' stipend in cash together with necessary training and supervision; and that the remaining 20 percent be raised by the grantee from state and local governments, corporations, labor unions, educational institutions, and youth organizations.

In National Service, each player reaps a return greater than its investment. The young person who incurs an opportunity cost of a few thousand dollars reaps several times this figure in the value of work experience, career exploration, good contacts, and learning from service. The sponsor which invests three or four thousand dollars in a Cadet receives a contribution to the agency mission valued at $10,000 or more. The federal government that puts up $7,000 gets at least that much returned in the value of services rendered for an appropriate governmental purpose; and receives the bonus of better citizens, fewer criminals and more income taxes over the long run. The corporation that contributes $1,000 to enable a nonprofit organization to obtain a Cadet may find an employee whose costs of recruitment would have been well in excess of $1,000.

Service-learning activities deserve less federal support than National Service for two reasons. First, unlike National Service, it has not been demonstrated that the value of services rendered by students exceeds the costs of service-learning activities. Students require a significant amount of supervision and training for the amount of service they accomplish and they often leave the assignment at about the time they become productive workers. Second, the largest benefit of service-learning accrues to the student and is educational. Education is primarily a state and local responsibility.

Initial federal support for service-learning is justified in order to give state and local governments a basis for deciding whether or not to continue to support it after the phase-out of federal aid. The largest item of federal support for service-

learning will be to help finance the most effective way to enhance service-learning, namely, the hiring of service-learning coordinators. They are persons who integrate the community's interest in meeting its needs with the faculty's interest in education and the student's interest in serving.

In addition to federal support for service-learning coordinators, which for any given school or college should be gradually phased out over about five years, the federal government will be a source of technical assistance and the exchange of information about service-learning.

Where National Service and service-learning overlap, as with a college junior who receives one year of academic credit for the evidence of learning derived from a year of full-time service, support will follow function, i.e., National Service money will support the service activities and service-learning money will support the service-learning coordinator and related activities.

Motivations and Perceptions of Young People. It is important to underscore that national youth service is seen as a responsibility of young people rather than an obligation. We expect they will recognize their responsibility to serve because of their heritage of education, medical care, and material goods; and because of the manifest goods their participation will bring themselves and the commonwealth.

Research and experience have shown that young people volunteer for national and international service for a variety of reasons. They want to test themselves in a challenging situation. They want to explore a possible career interest. They want to get away from home. They want a job. They want work experience. They want time out from sitting in a classroom year after year. They want to serve others. The motivation varies among young people. Most enter service for more than one reason. (Control Systems Research, 1973).

As large numbers of young people become involved in youth service activities, we expect that adult perception of them will shift along the following lines (National Youth Leadership Council, 1990):

From onlookers (especially via TV)..... to active citizens
From guided..... to self-directed
From apathetic..... to involved
From sheltered..... to shaper of society
From dependents..... to providers
From "at risk"..... to "at strength"
From self-centered..... to service-oriented youth leaders

International Linkages. *The United States will promote the exchange of Cadets and of information about national youth service with other countries.* The information exchange can be accomplished by reinstituting the International Secretariat for Volunteer

Service (1962-1975). The exchange of volunteers can be accomplished by way of public entities such as the California Conservation Corps Office of International Programs and the Peace Corps; and private entities such as the Partnership for Service-Learning and the Soviet-American Youth Service.

The exchange of information and of youth service participants will pave the way for even closer cooperation through entities such as an earth restoration corps, in which young people throughout the world meet environmental challenges and are closely linked by cooperative projects and a communications network.

Transition in the 1990s. The remainder of the 1990s is ample time to accomplish the transition from where we are today to the national youth service institution described above. What needs to be done is well described in National Service: An Action Agenda for the 1990s (Coalition for National Service, 1988). The accomplishment of its agenda, summarized in Chapter 3, will foster the emergence of youth service as an institution early in the 21st Century.

Major federal support for national youth service in the early years of this decade should come from the National and Community Service Act. About the only thing missing in the Act is adequate funding. The authorization figure of $287 million for fiscal years 1991-1993 is too modest to accomplish the needed breakthrough in public perception about the potential of national youth service. The first question usually asked of National Service advocates is "What are you really trying to do — provide needed services, give young people work experience, make them better citizens, or establish a rite of passage?"

Once enough people have seen the multiple outcomes of the National Service experience we can expect it to be institutionalized. Whereas full funding of the Act from 1991-93 should add about 20,000 young people to the 10,000 now in programs qualifying as National Service, we estimate there will have to be about 100,000 18-24 year olds in National Service to accomplish the needed breakthrough.

Also during the 1990s, we need to convince the general public of those outcomes of national youth service which are familiar to those close to youth service activities. For example, the research findings of Prof. Diane Hedin of the University of Minnesota deserve a wider audience than they have found to date:

> A recent study of national service by Danzig and Szanton [see Appendix B] suggests that there is great ambiguity about whether volunteer service has positive effects on the social, psychological and intellectual development of young people, particularly those in school-based programs. As the author of the largest study of school-based programs, I wish to unambiguously state that we found participation in community service, internships, and other experiential learning programs in schools did increase the level of personal and social

responsibility of participants, did result in more positive attitudes toward adults and others with whom they worked and did increase their willingness to be active in the community. Nearly all students gained in terms of career information and exploration. They also showed modest increases in self-esteem. (Hedin, 1987)

There needs to be larger and more systematic experimentation than has been accomplished to date. *The decade will be well spent if these three points can be firmly established:*

- *That nontargeted programs of service-learning and community service do more for all participants than targeted programs, especially for the disadvantaged young people who have been the target of such programs.* There are strong indications of the truth of this statement from studies of youth programs in the 1960s and 1970s (Mangum and Walsh, 1978); it needs to be tested again with programs supported by the National and Community Service Act.
- *That national youth service is an instructional asset which supports academic achievement and can be measured as such.* Young people actively involved with subject matter via national youth service become more engaged in learning. If the national testing proposed by the Bush administration is adopted, it should include a measure of the influence a national youth service experience has on learning.
- *That the accomplishments of young people in national youth service are measurable and contribute significantly to national goals in areas such as literacy, education, the environment, and the quality and quantity of child day care and elder care.* Hours served, children tutored, parks refurbished and other indicators will be counted. Through its annual Youth Service Survey, the National Service Secretariat has been collecting and reporting on these measures since 1983 for National Service activities. The Survey has good baseline data (Eberly, 1988) but also shows a need for more systematic record keeping.

To assess the progress being made toward national youth service as an institution in the 21st Century, here are several indicators:

- By 1995, 100,000 men and women 18 to 24 years of age are members of full-time service and conservation corps which qualify as National Service.
- By 1996, at least 1,000 Peace Corps Volunteers are serving as equal members of multi-national teams on international service projects.
- By 1997, at least 25 states require their high schools to offer service-learning opportunities to all students.
- By 1998, all 18-year-olds receive information about opportunities for joining a variety of military and non-military service programs.

- By 1998, at least ten percent of the financial support for National Service activities comes from the private sector.
- By 1999, it is determined that both (a) the voting rate and (b) the rate of return on student loans, are significantly higher for persons who had participated in national youth service than for those who had not.

A REPORT CARD

This paper began by defining national youth service as the manifestation of a mutual responsibility between a nation and its young people. The question is, how well is each of them doing in meeting its responsibility? The government is saved from a failing grade only by its continuing support of the Peace Corps and VISTA, its enactment of the National and Community Service Act, and its exhortation to young people to serve others. However, these are little more than nominal efforts when compared with the commitment shown by the nation in the 1930s when it created the Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Youth Administration that had a combined enrollment during the decade of nearly 9 million young men and women; and when it adopted a GI Bill in 1944 that provided further education and training for 8 million veterans of World War II. The federal government gets a D.

Surveys show that large numbers of young people are prepared to serve if challenged to do so and properly supported. With the very limited support that exists, millions of them are serving part-time as unpaid volunteers. Young people would get an A but for the fact that they are not actively campaigning for the right to serve in a way that is, and is seen to be, as important as military service. Young people get a B+.

Clearly, the burden of responsibility now rests with the nation and with its federal, state and local governments. The people they represent want to see a 21st Century that comes closer than has the 20th Century to meeting the rights of "Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness" for which our government was instituted more than 200 years ago.

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3.
OPTIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

A CONFERENCE REPORT

From July 19-21, 1991, a group of 30 persons (Appendix A) met at the Wingspread Conference Center in Wisconsin to consider the establishment of youth service as an institution for the 21st Century. The Conference first considered the historical analysis of youth participation in America (Chapter 1), then reviewed the changes that had taken place with youth service since 1988 (see pp. 49-51), then considered the proposal for youth service becoming an institution in the 21st Century (Chapter 2), and concluded with a discussion of ways to involve large numbers of young people as well as the general public in the debate on the future of youth service. Also, the Conference departed briefly from its agenda to consider a resolution on the National and Community Service Act.

Conferees ranged in age from roughly 17 to 70; their ethnic backgrounds included Africa, Asia, Europe and North and South America; and their professional fields included economics, education, engineering, the humanities, the natural sciences, and sociology. It quickly became clear that the jargon used in their daily lives would have to be put away until their return.

SOME QUESTIONS OF NOMENCLATURE

To some, for example, "moratorium" meant "a break from the lockstep of education" and to others it meant "a pause in the bombing of Vietnam." To some, the use of "Cadet" (see Chapter 2) to refer to a person in full-time service carried the connotation of one preparing to be a military officer; to others it meant someone preparing to take a responsible role in society and was a refreshing substitute for "volunteer" with its suggestion of being unpaid, and the neutral and unexciting "participant."

To some, the "nation" meant "250 million American citizens" and to others it meant "the government in Washington." This was the most critical semantic problem because of frequent references to "national service" and "National Youth Service Foundation." It was clear that those who used "national service" meant "voluntary service by young people which is in the national interest and which meets the needs of the community, the environment and human beings both in the United States and overseas." This meaning was applied to the shorthand phrases Youth Service, National and Community Service, Youth for America — that conferees continued to employ.

There was also the question of what was meant by "youth" or "young

people." At the 1966 national service conference that led to the formation of the National Service Secretariat, the focus was on 18-24 year old males as they were the ones who would be most strongly affected by a civilian option to military service. Today, "youth service" is used by some to refer to everything from kindergartners singing Christmas carols at a nursing home to the service-learning activities of university students who may be grandparents. The Conference agreed that the focus should be on persons engaged in the transition from adolescence to adulthood, or persons ranging from about 15 to 25 years of age.

The use of "community service" to describe the activities of convicts doing court-ordered service is of concern to those in the field of youth service. The Conference did not object to judges meting out these kinds of sentences, but it did suggest "community restitution" as a better term for the court-ordered activity.

HISTORY OF YOUTH PARTICIPATION

In his background paper, Michael Sherraden points to an institutional gap that has emerged in recent decades that neither education nor the labor market has been able to fill. The Conference agreed that there is a serious gap. Some described it as a gap in time, between departure from school and entering the workforce. More fundamentally, though, conferees said the gap was found in society's capacity to provide what is needed by young people to complete their developmental tasks of late adolescence and early adulthood, that is, to be useful, develop skills and competence, and learn to be self-sufficient.

One viewpoint expressed was that even if there were no school dropouts and the youth unemployment rate were zero, there still would be a gap because young people seek a sense of community and of being part of a larger purpose. For example, a number of young people leave paid employment to enter youth service programs carrying a below-minimum wage stipend.

The discussion of an institutional gap led directly to consideration of the question of whether or not a national and community service program can be viewed as a rite of passage. Can youth service help to temper passions and build commitment to one's community as rites of passage have done historically? In particular, is it likely that disenfranchised young people living in impoverished communities will build such a commitment?

First, the Conference decided that involving young people in the choice of the work they will do, assures that the work has meaning and value to them and to their respective communities. When this occurs, the very act of performing the service builds young people's investment in their communities.

Second, any rite of passage must include the sight of some hopeful future to "pass into." Youth service programs offer prospects of future employment, vocational development, and further education and training — all in the field of

interest of the person who serves.

Is the emergence of some kind of national youth service inevitable? The Conference concluded that it is not. What is inevitable, however, is that those young people who are lost in the institutional gaps described above will seek skills, competence, legal or illegal employment, and a means of belonging. In short, the attempt to survive and to find meaning is what is inevitable.

It is clear that if society does not offer its young people legitimate, safe, positive means to the transition to adulthood, then some young people will find their own means of survival in underground, dangerous and anti-social activities. This makes it even more important to insure that some form of national and community service, while not inevitable, does grow, is made available to all young people, and becomes an expected part of moving to adult citizenship.

BRINGING YOUTH SERVICE UP TO DATE

The Conference then reviewed progress with national youth service since the 1988 meeting and publication entitled "National Service: An Action Agenda for the 1990s" (see Appendix B). That agenda is summarized below in bold face, and an account is given of the progress on each of the agenda items:

- **Establish a National Youth Service that offers full-time service opportunities to all young people who want to serve.** The National and Community Service Act of 1990 was signed into law by President Bush on November 16, 1990 and, although it is not funded at a level to provide opportunities for all who want to serve, it establishes a framework that could lead to the accomplishment of this goal before the end of the 1990s.
- **Create a National Youth Service Foundation to support service activities by young people.** The Commission on National and Community Service created by the 1990 Act is virtually identical to the proposed Foundation.
- **Develop an International Volunteer Youth Service in which young people from different countries serve together. Begin by enlisting young people from the United States and the Soviet Union to work together in teams whose services make a difference in the quality of life and in the environment.** The first major step was taken in Moscow on December 15, 1989, when officials of the National Service Secretariat and the Committee of Youth Organizations of the USSR agreed to promote a joint service program known as the Soviet-American Youth Service. The second major step was taken in the summer of 1990 when teams of Soviet and American volunteers, working within the framework of the 1989 agreement, served together on several projects in California and two projects in the Soviet Union. This cooperative venture continues in 1991 and is led in the United States by the Office of International Programs of the California Conservation Corps.
- **Offer service-learning opportunities to all students.** Although no figures are

available, there is little question the number of students engaged in service-learning has increased substantially from 1988 to 1991. At the university level, this effort has been spearheaded by national bodies such as Campus Compact and the Campus Outreach Opportunity League (COOL), and by state bodies such as the Minnesota Campus Service Initiative, PennSERVE, and SERVEermont. At the school level, encouragement and technical support comes from such major national bodies as the Council of Chief State School Officers, the National Association of Secondary School Principals, the National Association of State Boards of Education, and the National Governors Association. All of these efforts may be enhanced by the $16.5 million appropriated for service-learning in the 1991 fiscal year under the National and Community Service Act.

- **Undertake pilot projects and research efforts to test large scale voluntary national service and a civilian ROTC.** These activities are authorized under the National and Community Service Act with a 1991 fiscal year funding level of $22 million. Meanwhile, Public/Privates Ventures has several research projects under way and, at Norwich University in Vermont, selected students receive scholarships to study overseas development, perform community service in the summers, and have a very good chance of being accepted for Peace Corps service after graduation.
- **Promote cooperation with the private sector.** Such cooperation is on the rise. Boston's City Year, with a 1990 budget of $1.5 million raised exclusively from the private sector, is perhaps the most successful at it. Another example is the Association of Yale Alumni Community Service Summer Fellowship Program, in which Yale alumni pay the $2,100 stipend for Yale students for eight weeks of community service, and otherwise help with arrangements.
- **Maintain broad-based participation in national service.** The overall figures for full-time programs such as the Peace Corps, Ohio Conservation Corps and others show a broad base of participation. However, several of the individual programs show little socio-economic diversity among participants.
- **Work with young people on the evolution of national service.** This appears to be happening pretty much across the board, from Youth Service America taking a leadership role at the national level to Boston's City Year and COOL which are run by young people.
- **Expand state and local youth service programs by challenging the public and private sectors to support them.** From 1988 to 1990 enrollment in these programs increased from 4,500 to 7,500 with increased support from both sectors and with significant technical assistance from the National Association of Service and Conservation Corps. Additional growth was sparked in 1989 with the launching of the Urban Corps Expansion Project. Moreover, the National and Community Service Act provides $16.5 million in 1991 for their additional growth.
- **Foster linkages with groups such as those representing labor, business, students, civil rights, environmentalists and senior citizens.** Progress is being made with each

of these groups but stronger efforts are needed with labor and senior citizens.

- **Generate active public support for national service.** Support for national service among the general public has been strong but largely passive for several decades. It has become more active since about 1989 and has been a factor in the passage of the National and Community Service Act and in increased advocacy of national youth service by major political figures.

Fulfillment of the agenda for the 1990s will facilitate the emergence of youth service as an institution early in the 21st Century.

AN INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

The Conference then discussed the Eberly-Kielsmeier paper in Chapter 2 and decided to focus on what it considered to be the most crucial elements of the paper. Its discussion is summarized below, with headings in bold referring to headings in Chapter 2.

Formal Education. While changes in the responsibilities of the organizations and individuals that make up the institution of education — e.g., state educational authorities, local boards of education, professors, deans, superintendents, and teachers — are not proposed, some of their activities should be redirected.

Educators should enter the world of teaching understanding that service supports the aims of education. Community service should be considered with research and teaching when universities make judgments about the performance of their professors.

In service-learning activities, instructors should work with students to outline learning objectives for service activities, and the instructors should assess learning outcomes presented by service-learning students, just as they assess the learning acquired by students of English and mathematics. To do this, colleges of teacher training might offer courses that combine service activities with guidance on assessment of service-learning outcomes.

Young people should have opportunities to assume leadership roles and to work in partnership with instructors and administrators. In situations where service activities do not originate in the high school or university, opportunities for integrating learning with service should not be overlooked. One example might illustrate leadership roles, partnerships, and the practice of service-learning in a non-academic setting:

> - A conservation corps has been set up in the Rocky Mountains; the work is tough and the project director wants to get it done on time. He appoints as crew chiefs the tough guys who entered the corps because they knew it would be physically demanding. It is soon discovered that some of them are functionally illiterate and the bespectacled young people who entered the corps because of their interest in preserving the environment offer to teach

them reading and writing in the evenings. Both groups of young people soon become disgruntled because they are not being told what relevance their work has to saving the environment. They petition the director to explain all this, and because he thinks it may stimulate them to work harder, he goes to a state college in the foothills and finds an instructor willing to put the service activities in an environmental perspective.

Attention should to be paid to the way service activities can support the aims of vocational development and self-sufficiency. Service activities should be graduated according to the talents, education and experience of those who serve. For example, making copies on a xerox machine and raking leaves in a park are not very challenging activities for college students, but they might be for persons who are mentally retarded.

Civic education can also be strengthened by building in a community service component. The Civic Education and Community Service Program at Rutgers University is doing some pioneering work in this area.

The College Work-Study Program (CWSP) is a relatively untapped resource for stimulating service by college students and linking it with educational pursuits. CWSP support now goes primarily to work on campus that is driven more by campus budget considerations than it is by the service needs on campus and in nearby communities. CWSP support should be redirected to accord with the original intent for its role: that Work-Study students serve the needs of low-income people.

Service-learning activities should follow the *Principles of Good Practice for Combining Service and Learning* published by The Johnson Foundation (see Appendix B).

Citizenship. The discussion of youth service as a manifestation of citizenship centered on low voter turnout in the United States and the tendency of many citizens to avoid jury duty. Some asked if these were good examples of citizenship. However, it was pointed out that the public does hold these responsibilities in high esteem. Also, participation in national and community service may give young people a stronger commitment to meeting a wider range of citizenship responsibilities.

The Public Sector: National Youth Service Foundation. The Conference discussed a number of ways in which a large-scale program of national and community service might be administered.

While they differed in detail, all the proposals envisioned a decentralized operation in which, unlike a Pentagon-style hierarchy, the great majority of young people would serve with existing state, city, county and community-based organizations such as schools, hospitals, and programs for the illiterate and homeless. Furthermore, those who served with federal agencies would not serve under the proposed Foundation; rather, they would serve with entities such as the

National Park Service and the US Forest Service which have extensive experience in administering youth service programs dating back to the Civilian Conservation Corps of the 1930s.

The Program for Local Service (PLS) model, cited in Chapter 2, was attractive to many conferees. In PLS, young people received a voucher that entitled them to a stipend and health insurance during a year of full-time service. Public and nonprofit agencies prepared one page position descriptions which were certified by a state agency as meeting federal guidelines such as addressing human and environmental needs, helping low-income people, practicing non-discrimination and avoiding interference with regular jobs.

Rather than being assigned to a particular position, the young people in PLS interviewed for as many positions as they desired and those who found one to their liking signed a memorandum of agreement with the agency where they were to serve. The agreements spelled out responsibilities of both the young people and the agencies and served as a reference document for any grievances that might arise. Thus, both the young people and the community had a say in the services performed.

The sharpest differences among conferees were over the requirements the federal government might impose on any monies it disbursed. One viewpoint held that existing youth service organizations know the field better than the federal government. Therefore, the federal government should earmark funds to such organizations with no strings attached.

The contrasting position held that the federal government should impose the kinds of guidelines used in the PLS so that the government would be able to cut off funds from recipients which violated the guidelines. The conferees behind this viewpoint also stated that the entity disbursing federal monies should be a quasi-public corporation along the lines of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

National Service Education Fund. The Conference was sympathetic to the proposal for a National Service Education Fund but decided it introduced too many complexities into the discussion and it would be better to stick with direct support. For persons completing at least one year of full-time service, the Conference recommended financial support for their further education and training or — for those who serve after receiving government loans for their education — cancellation of the loans proportional to the time in service. Colleges, states and the federal government should all have monies set aside to be used exclusively for the support of persons completing at least one year of full-time service.

The Conference also noted that there is talk in both the welfare reform and the education reform movements of moving toward Individual Development Accounts which, if that happens, would overlap with the proposed National Service Education Fund.

Other Federal Agencies. The Conference discussed the proposal for federal

agencies to establish positions to be filled with National Service participants. These positions would be fairly similar to internships and might be undertaken in a second year of National Service. Thus, a participant who served one year as a member of a state conservation corps might explore career possibilities by signing up for a second year with the US Forest Service where he might be given several different assignments. The young people in these positions would bring fresh thinking to parts of agencies that may have fallen into bureaucratic slumbers.

Selective Service System. Many conferees were enthusiastic about the proposal to register young women as well as young men and inform them of their service opportunities at the time of registration. It would be a way to inform young people of opportunities to serve in civilian as well as military service, since civilian programs do not have the multi-million dollar advertising budgets of the Pentagon. However, several conferees were leery of the proposal because it might be viewed as support for a return to conscription.

The Conference did conclude that upon reaching the age of 18, both men and women should receive information kits describing opportunities for service with such entities as the Air Force; the Army; the conservation corps of California, Minnesota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and several other states; the Marines; the Navy; the Peace Corps; Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA); the Washington State Service Corps and several other full-time, year-round community service programs sponsored by municipalities, counties and nonprofit organizations.

The Private Sector. The Conference noted that the principal overseas concern is shifting from communism to economic competitiveness. It will be necessary to shift resources away from the military establishment to activities that strengthen the United States in meeting the new challenge. It was agreed that, like formal education, national youth service is an investment in young people and therefore in the future of the United States.

Participants in national service can set a standard of excellence for the quality of work done by young people. That young people have a say in what they do; that the organizations which engage them use their own resources to provide supervision, training and partial payment of the stipend; that their performance is closely watched by the media and by critics of national service, will conspire to set a high standard for the quality of work done.

Allocation of Funds. The Eberly-Kielsmeier paper (Chapter 2) recommended a federal underwriting for full-time National Service up to 70 percent of a lean budget; a sponsor contribution of 10 percent of the participants' stipend in cash together with necessary training and supervision; and the remaining 20 percent or more to be raised by the grantee from state and local governments, corporations, labor unions, educational institutions, and youth organizations. Most conferees viewed this as a sensible allocation of resources although a few of them had a problem with the principle of underwriting. They feared that grantees would

make no effort to raise more than the minimum.

Those who favored underwriting said it was necessary to assure that all young people who wanted to serve would be able to do so. It was agreed that tests are needed to determine the optimal balance among the sources of support. The point is to require some locally-raised dollars so as to preserve the integrity and accountability of National Service.

Transition in the 1990s. The Conference was split over the contention that nontargeted programs of service-learning and National Service do more for all participants than programs limited to disadvantaged and unemployed persons. It did agree that more research is warranted to test that hypothesis. Recent research indicates that the biggest potential return on the investment in national and community service is indeed with disadvantaged young people; however, the same group also drops out of youth service programs at a rate higher than any other group.

The Conference did agree with the two other statements in this section of the Eberly-Kielsmeier paper: national youth service is an instructional asset which supports academic achievement and can be measured as such; and the accomplishments of young people in national youth service are measurable and contribute significantly to important national goals.

A MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT BUSH

The Conference moved outside its scheduled agenda and unanimously passed a resolution calling upon President George Bush to implement immediately the National and Community Service Act of 1990. The reasons for the urgency were: no money could be disbursed for these activities until the President nominated and the Senate approved members of the Commission on National and Community Service; the fiscal year was due to end on September 30, 1991; and Mr. Bush's proposed budget for the 1992 fiscal year provided no money for these youth service activities. The resolution reads as follows:

> We are strong supporters of the 1990 National and Community Service Act and have welcomed President Bush's commitment to young people engaged in service. We call upon the President now to act in good faith in implementing the National and Community Service Act, including: (1) prompt appointment of the National Commission provided for in the Act and (2) nonpartisan provision of full funding to states and other entities consistent with legislative in-tent.

On July 22, one day after the Conference ended, Mr. Bush first declared his intention to nominate 20 members of the 21-member Commission and later in the day formally submitted the nominations to the Senate. The Senate approved

16 of the nominees on August 1 and was expected to approve the others soon thereafter.

YOUTH SERVICE AS A 21ST CENTURY INSTITUTION

The unanimous conclusion of the Conference was that youth service is needed as a democratic, nationwide institution in the 21st Century. The institution of youth service should include an array of service choices; namely, full-time and part-time, domestic and overseas, at home and away from home. In order to reach all young people, opportunities to serve should be available at the level of the neighborhood, school, college, city, state and nation. The Conference agreed on the following essential aspects of national youth service:

- Service activities should meet significant needs of the community or society-at-large.
- Young people should have a say in the kinds of service activities they undertake.
- Service activities should demonstrate citizenship, include voter registration, and be based on values of commitment, compassion, community, tolerance, justice, self-discipline, and responsibility. The primary message to young people should be, "You can make a difference."
- Service projects should be accountable to the communities and individuals served.
- Young people in full-time service activities should receive stipends and those completing one year or more of full-time service should receive post-service benefits proportional to the length of service.
- Service activities with the above set of characteristics should be available to all young people who want to serve.

If the institution of youth service joins the institutions of education and work in the 21st Century, and if it is developed along the lines recommended by the Conference, here are the ways it can be expected to redefine the roles of these and other institutions:

- Formal education will award academic credit for the learning students derive from their service experiences. College admission officers will consider the service activities of applicants.
- The government will inform all young men and women of their opportunities for civilian as well as military service.
- Citizenship responsibilities will come to include a period of voluntary, full-time national and community service. The American democracy of the 21st Century will be strengthened as large numbers of voters as well as community and national leaders apply the first-hand experience they gained in national service.

- Volunteerism will be expanded as young people in youth service work alongside volunteers, thereby extending their outreach and improving the quality of service.
- The private sector will contribute to national and community service by providing mentors and helping to support young people serving with nonprofit organizations. The private sector will benefit by opening up avenues of recruiting future staff.
- The public sector will receive support for its mission from the accomplishment of needed services by youth service participants, and the number of young people who become contributing members of society will be greatly increased. In return, the public sector will help to support those who have served, awarding them grants and loans for education and training.

Does the United States have the resources to support a national youth service that might enroll as many as one million young men and women in full-time service activities, as well as the non-stipended service-learning activities of several million high school and college students? The Conference was reminded of the mid-1930s when one in every 250 Americans was a member of the Civilian Conservation Corps; and of the late 1940s when the amount being expended by the federal government on the GI Bill for education and training was equal to one percent of the Gross National Product. The corresponding figures in 1991 would be one million persons in full-time service and a federal expenditure of $56 billion.

In the concluding talk, Cesie Delve Scheuermann warned against letting the youth service movement fall into the hands of "political opportunists who may lull an uninformed American public into thinking that service is all about feeling good." She issued a charge to the conferees to stimulate the further consideration of youth service as a democratic institution for the 21st Century.

APPENDIX A

PERSONS ATTENDING THE WINGSPREAD CONFERENCE JULY 19-21, 1991

Caroline Allam, *Project Assistant*
Council of Chief State School Officers

Bryan Barnett, *Director*
Civic Education and Community Service Program, Rutgers University

Jon Blyth, *Program Officer*
Charles Stewart Mott Foundation

Dometrice Clemmons, *Student*
Spelman College

Robert Clodius, *President*
National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges

David Denman, *Educational Consultant*
TIMEOUT

John Diedrich, *Student*
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

Earl W. Eames, Jr., *Chairman*
National Service Secretariat

Donald J. Eberly, *Executive Director*
National Service Secretariat

Joseph J. Geevarghese, *President*
Youth Connection, Little Rock, AR

Amy L. Good, *Executive Director*
Alternatives for Girls, Detroit

John J. Greene, III, *Director*
Training and Contracts
American Correctional Association

James Kielsmeier, *President*
National Youth Leadership Council

Jerome L. Kolker, *Vice President*
Public/Private Ventures

Bob Kossak, *Student*
North Central College

Roger Landrum, *Executive Director*
Youth Service America

Joanna Lennon, *Executive Director*
East Bay Conservation Corps

Prof. Charles C. Moskos, Jr.
Northwestern University

Dorothy O'Neill, *Chair*
Planning and Policy
Illinois State Board of Education

William R. Ramsay, *Vice President*
Berea College

Cesie Delve Scheuermann,
Board Member
National Society for Internships and Experiential Education

Kathleen Selz, *Director*
National Association of Service and Conservation Corps

Prof. Michael Sherraden
Washington University, St. Louis

Bruce Spector
Community Service Director
Trinity College of Vermont

Katharine Stevens, *Director*
The Venture Consortium

Dorothy Stoneman, *President*
YouthBuild USA

Gordon Strause, *Team Coordinator*
Boston's City Year

Robert C. Terry, Jr., *Senior Consultant*
Arthur D. Little, Inc

Laina Warsavage, *Project Coordinator*
Campus Compact

Dianne M. Zinkiewicz, *Student*
Illinois Benedictine College

APPENDIX B

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

Most students of national service agree that William James's "The Moral Equivalent of War" is the seminal work on national service. He first delivered it as a lecture at Stanford University in 1906 and since then it has been printed in numerous publications, e.g., John J. McDermott, ed., *The Writings of William James.* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1967). John Dewey, with his insistence on the proper balance between practice and theory, laid a solid educational foundation for service-learning. See, e.g., Joseph Ratner, ed., *Intelligence in the Modern World: John Dewey's Philosophy.* (New York: The Modern Library, 1939).

The debate over the draft during the Vietnam War led to several volumes on national service, each of which represents a variety of viewpoints on mandatory vs. voluntary service, and the extent to which civilian service should be an alternative to military service. They are Sol Tax, ed., *The Draft: A Handbook of Facts and Alternatives,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), Donald J. Eberly, ed., *National Service: A Report of a Conference,* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1968); "National Service and U.S. Defense," *Current History,* August, 1968 (Volume 55, No. 324); "National Service Options," *Teachers College Record,* (Columbia University, New York, September, 1971, Vol. 73, No.1).

Several 1970s books call for youth service as one aspect of a more enlightened youth policy. Their titles are self-explanatory and include Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education, *Giving Youth A Better Chance: Options for Education, Work, and Service* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1979); National Commission on Resources for Youth, *New Roles for Youth in the School and the Community* (New York: Citation Press, 1974); Panel on Youth of the President's Science Advisory Committee, *Youth: Transition to Adulthood* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1973); Ralph W. Tyler, ed., *From Youth to Constructive Adult Life: The Role of the Public School* (Berkeley: McCutchan, 1978). Willard Wirtz and the National Manpower Institute, *The Boundless Resource: A Prospectus for an Education/Work Policy* (Washington: New Republic, 1975).

The emphasis on national service as a citizenship responsibility is found most strongly in the works of Morris Janowitz and Charles C. Moskos. Janowitz, founder of the Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society, advocated initiatives that would reduce the gulf between the military and civilian sectors of society. As outlined in *The Reconstruction of Patriotism: Education for Civic Consciousness.* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1983), Janowitz sees national service as embracing both civilian and military service. Moskos, protege of Janowitz and present chairman of the Inter-University Seminar, is, together with Sen. Sam Nunn and Rep. Dave McCurdy, the leading advocate of federal aid for higher education grants and loans being made contingent on a period of national service. See Charles C. Moskos, *A Call to Civic Service: National Service for Country and Community,* (New York: The Free Press, 1988). A work with a rather narrow focus but which yields to none in the power of its national service advocacy is William F. Buckley, Jr., *Gratitude: Reflections on What We Owe To Our Country (New York:* Random House, 1990).

There are very few studies of national service at the international level. The latest is Donald Eberly and Michael Sherraden, eds., *The Moral Equivalent of War? A Study of Non-Military Service in Nine Nations,* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1990). It describes and compares national service programs in Canada, China, Costa Rica, Germany, Indonesia, Israel, Mexico, Nigeria and the United States.

Two works describe the peaceful uses of the armed forces in several countries. See Edward Bernard Glick, *Peaceful Conflict: The Non-Military Use of the Military,* (Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1967); and Hugh Hanning, *The Peaceful Uses of Military Forces,* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967).

In 1991, interest in national service centers on its value as an educational experience for those who serve. More on this theme can be found in Donald J. Eberly, "Service Experience and Educational Growth," *Educational Record,* Vol 49, No. 2, Spring, 1968); American Council on Education, *Service-Learning for the Future: Domestic and International Programs,* (Washington: ACTION, 1978); Cynthia Parsons, *SerVermont and the U.S.A.,* (Chester, VT: The Vermont Schoolhouse Press, 1988); and Ellen Porter Honnet and Susan J. Poulsen, *Principles of Good Practice for Combining Service and Learning,* (Racine, WI: The Johnson Foundation, 1989).

A number of books give broad coverage to national service, drawing on contributions from several writers. They include Michael W. Sherraden and Donald J. Eberly, eds., *National Service: Social, Economic and Military Impacts,* (New York: Pergamon Press, 1982); Richard Danzig and Peter Szanton, *National Service: What Is It?* (Toronto: Lexington Books, 1986); and Williamson Evers, ed., *National Service: Pro & Con.* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Press, 1990).

Almost every Congress from 1967 to 1990 conducted hearings on national service. Among the more notable are US Congress, Senate, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty, *Manpower Implications of Selective Service,* 90th Congress, 1st session, 1967; US Congress, Senate, Committee on Labor and Human Resources, *Hearings on Presidential Commission on National Service and National Commission on Volunteerism,* 96th Congress, 2nd session, 1980; US Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on Education and Labor, Subcommittee on Employment Opportunities, *The Voluntary National Youth Service Act and the Select Commission on National Service Opportunities Act of 1985,* 99th Congress, 1st session, 1986.

Whoever writes the definitive history of national service will be helped by the works cited above as well as by two biographies that fill in many of the blanks in less personal accounts. Mora Dickson, in *A Chance to Serve* (London: Dobson Books, 1976) describes the trail-blazing work of husband Alec Dickson from his university days in the early 1930s until the mid-1970s when the book went to press. Dickson, once on Adolf Hitler's list of enemies, founded Great Britain's Voluntary Service Overseas in 1958 and Community Service Volunteers in 1962. In the United States, Donald J. Eberly in *National Service: A Promise to Keep* (Rochester, NY: John Alden Books, 1989) tells how he tested the idea of national service in the early 1950s, describes the evolution of the Peace Corps and service-learning, and recounts significant pilot projects and years of legislative struggle.